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MEXICO, PERU, AND THE MANILA GALLEON

MEXICO

The viceroyalty of New Spain, or more exactly, that part of it which lay within the jurisdiction of the *Audiencia* of Mexico, was the principal market for the cargoes of the Manila galleons. In fact their sale and consumption were limited to this field,¹ and save for a brief period the trade with the other provinces of the Spanish American empire was contraband. The interest of the Mexicans in the commerce was second only to that of the Manileños, and within Mexico itself the coming of the galleon was as eagerly looked for as that of the *flota* from Spain.² "The failure of the Philippine Galleon to arrive causes a scarcity of many things in this country," said the Marqués de Croix.³ And the Viceroy adds significantly that it promises a more brilliant fair at Jalapa, the town in the *tierra templada* above Vera Cruz where the cargo of the *flota* was sold.

All classes, from the Indians of the torrid lowlands, whom Spanish-made conventions and laws compelled to wear clothing, to the pampered creoles of the capital, went dressed in the fabrics of the Far East—the cottons of Luzon or India, or the

¹ *Recopilación de Leyes*, libro 9, título 45, ley 1. (Issued January 11, 1593, and February 10, 1635.)

² "No causó menos placer á los comerciantes de la capital la llegada del galeón de Filipinas al puerto de Acapulco." Zamacois, *Historia de Méjico*, V. 550.

³ Croix to the Marquis de Hénchin, June 20, 1769, *Correspondence du Marquis de Croix*.

silks of China.⁴ "The Chinese goods form the ordinary dress of the natives of New Spain," declared the *Reglamento* of 1720;⁵ and says the great Viceroy Revillagigedo: "The Philippine commerce is acclaimed in this kingdom, because its merchandise supplies the poor folk of the country."⁶

The bulk of the Chinese silks were consumed by the Spaniards and creoles, and the better-to-do mestizos, of Mexico, though the provincial towns also took a share of them. The proverbial wealth of the viceregal capital usually ensured a rich market to the merchants who distributed the cargo of the galleon. This wealth, founded largely on trade and mining, was a very substantial fact, though it was partly responsible for the exaggerated glamour which the dazzled and inaccurate imagination of Europe had thrown over the whole Spanish empire of the Indies. Men like Thomas Gage and Gemelli Careri, and, in later times, Alexander von Humboldt, actually saw the luxury and display of Mexico. "Both men and women," says the Irish friar, "are excessive in their apparel, using more silks than stuffs and cloths."⁷ And, writing of the 2,000 or more coaches that rolled back and forth each afternoon in the *Alameda*, "full of Gallants, Ladies, and Citizens, to see and to be seen, to court and to be courted", he observes that "they spare no Silver, nor precious stones, nor Cloth of Gold, nor the best Silks from China to enrich them". It was in the "rich and comely" street of San Agustín that these silks had been retailed, as La Platería was the center of the jewelry trade, where, says Gage, "a man's eyes may behold in less than an hour many millions worth of gold, silver, pearls, and jewels".⁸

⁴ [Riva Palacio], *México á través de los siglos*, II. 516.

⁵ *Extracto Historial*, f. 40b. "El arribo de una Flota es celebrada de los Mercaderes ricos, que llaman de Almacén [i.e., 'warehouse', or wholesale merchants]—pero la mayor parte de esse Reyno desea con mayor eficacia la Nao de China, y si se dilata su llegada, ocasiona muchos clamores, y sentimientos."

⁶ *Instrucción que dejó á su sucesor*, November 28, 1754, *Archivo General de Indias*, estante 90, cajón 2, legajo 18. Hereafter documents from these archives will be cited simply as *A. de I.*, followed by the numbers indicating their location.

⁷ Gage, *A New Survey of the West Indies* (ed. of 1677), p. 124.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 130. See also, Moll, *Thesaurus Geographicus* (1709), part 2, p. 260.

Not only did Mexican merchants make a large profit in the sale of these goods, but they often increased their profit by making their purchases at Manila instead of at Acapulco, and thereby eliminating the Manileño as a middleman. This practice must have begun very early, since a protest of 1586 declared: "One of the things which has ruined this land is the large consignments of money which rich persons in Mexico send here."⁹ A law granting the petition of the islanders was issued seven years later.¹⁰ However, the continued complaints of the Manileños are evidence of the ineffectiveness of the decree. In 1602, they threatened to abandon the colony if the Mexicans and Peruvians did not limit their operations to the American side.¹¹ Some of the latter were men who had accumulated a fortune during a few years residence in the islands, and still maintained their trading connections in Manila by means of reliable agents, who represented them for a commission. These agents were registered citizens, and as such were legally qualified to draw *boletas* and consign goods on the galleon. They were so well supplied with money that the *bona fide* merchants could not compete with them, since prices to the Spaniards were sometimes doubled when the Chinese learned that there was a large supply of Mexican and Peruvian silver in the city.¹² Sometimes the American merchants would go to Manila in person to make their purchases, and then return on the next *nao*. However, a law was issued in 1604 to prevent these business trips out to the islands.¹³ "The greater part of the people who each year go from New Spain to the Philippines," it says, "do not remain there, but return presently (*luego*), after employing the money

⁹ Santiago de Vera and others to the Council of the Indies, 1584, Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, VI. 166. This series will be cited hereafter as B. and R.

¹⁰ *Leyes*, lib. 9, tit. 45, ley 1. "Prohibimos, defendemos, y mandamos, que ninguna persona de las naturales ni residentes en la Nueva España, ni en otra parte de las Indias trate ni pueda tratar en las Islas Filipinas."

¹¹ Alonso Fernández de Castro, *Puntos principales de la contratacion de las Filipinas*, [1602], B. and R., XII. 50. See also Morga, *Sucesos*, B. and R., XVI. 176.

¹² Viceroy Velasco to the King, February 25, 1593, *A. de I.*, 58-3-11.

¹³ *Leyes*, lib. 9, tit. 45, ley 29.

which they have." The viceroy was not to give permission to anyone to go to the Philippines without such person giving bond to become an actual citizen of the colony, and agreeing to reside there for eight years, but such legitimate emigrants might take out with them whatever funds they possessed, regardless of the limitation of the *permiso* on the passage of silver to the islands.¹⁴ After the *Procurador* Grau y Monfalcón had declared that most of the evils of the trade were due to the interference of the Mexicans—whom the Manilaños always made the scapegoats for their own excesses—the prohibitions were reissued in 1638.¹⁵ At the same time the King refused the request of the City of Mexico for permission to invest annually 250,000 pesos in the Philippine trade. The Mexicans had alleged as the reason for their petition the expense of maintaining the *armada de Barlovento*, whose function was the policing of the Gulf and Caribbean region against pirates. A few years later the *Audiencia* of Manila excluded several Mexican merchants from trade in the islands, confiscated their goods, and fined them 273,113 pesos.¹⁶ However, in 1683, the City of Manila complained to the King that citizens of Mexico had sent 400,000 pesos for investment,¹⁷ and a few years later the Andalusians charged that, in 1686, Viceroy Galve sent two ships to Manila with merchants from both viceroyalties, and all well supplied with money.¹⁸ These men were said to have gone on to China, and to have established factories there and left samples of goods to serve as models for the Chinese silk weavers. However, it is clear that even if any such enterprise was undertaken at that time it was not prosecuted beyond the most initial stage. And though the *reglamentos* of 1720 and 1734 ordered the confiscation at Acapulco of all goods known to be consigned to Mexicans, "of whatever rank, quality or condition they may be",¹⁹ yet Revillagigedo informed his successor in 1754 that it was morally impossible

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ley 12.

¹⁵ *Real cédula*, December 8, 1638, *A. de I.*, 105-2-12.

¹⁶ *Real acuerdo*, July 17, 1656, *A. de I.*, 67-6-22.

¹⁷ The City to the King, June 13, 1683, *A. de I.*, 68-5-17.

¹⁸ *Extracto Historial*, f. 288b.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, ff. 44, 213.

to keep the Mexicans from sending money to Manila to invest in the galleon trade.²⁰ Even the closest official surveillance could not discover the frauds which were so skilfully concealed by a resort to "dummies". In 1776 the *fiscal* of the Council of the Indies, Tomás Ortiz de Landazuri, told Charles III. that the Mexicans were the real masters of this traffic, "reputed to be the most fortunate and lucrative of all those that are known in Europe and America".²¹

Silk manufactures were long maintained in Mexico on the basis of raw materials from China and from native production. The Mexican silk industry was older than the galleon commerce, and in fact dated from the very time of Cortés.²² The area of production centered in the Misteca district, and the city of Puebla gained considerable local fame for its looms and neighboring mulberry groves.²³ Until the Peruvian market was closed and the disastrous Chinese competition had begun to undermine its prosperity the prospect for the native silks was very bright.²⁴ In 1611, the Viceroy Montesclaros, arguing for the suppression of the Acapulco trade, said that Mexico could supply all her own demand for silk from the Misteca and other

²⁰ *Op. cit.* However, Governor Arandía conceded in 1758 that fewer Mexicans came than formerly, on account of the restrictions. Arandía to Arriaga, July 17, 1758, *A. de I.*, 68-4-19.

²¹ Ortiz de Landazuri to the King, September 7, 1776, *A. de I.*, 108-4-25.

²² There is a well documented account of the history of Mexican silk culture in García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI* (1886), pp. 194-204.

²³ "Críase en la Mizteca y en otras partes de la Nueva España, gran cantidad de sedas, y se labran terciopelos, tafetanes, rrasos y damascos." Zorita, *Historia de la Nueva España* (ed. of 1909), I. 197. Miles Philips, one of John Hawkins' men, hired out to a silk weaver in Mexico. "A discourse written by one Miles Philips Englishman, one of the company put on shoare Northward of Panuco in the West Indies by M. John Hawkins 1568", Hakluyt, VI. 325.

²⁴ "The policy of the Council of the Indies, constantly unfavorable to the manufactures of Mexico, on the one hand, and on the other, the most active commerce with China, and the interest which the Philippine Company have in selling the Asiatic silks to the Mexicans, seem to be the principal causes of the gradual annihilation of this branch of colonial industry." Humboldt, *Political Essay* (1811), III. 57. Of the state of the industry in his own time Humboldt says further: "With the exception of a few stuffs of cotton mixed with silk, the manufacture of silks is at present next to nothing in Mexico." *Ibid.*, p. 465.

sources within the country.²⁵ However, the decline had already set in, and the local manufacturers were henceforth dependent for their raw material upon the crude Chinese silk. Grau y Monfalcón declared in 1637 that over 14,000 laborers were engaged in this industry in Mexico, Puebla, and Antequera.²⁶ The *procurador* asserted that the Oriental silk was superior in quality to that produced in the Misteca district, which was moreover inadequate to supply the local demand in Mexico.

PERU

Peru early promised to be an even more lucrative market for Oriental goods than was New Spain. Here was a population wealthy, inordinately given to luxury and display, and recklessly extravagant. In the Calle de Mercaderes, or Street of the Merchants, in Lima, the luxuries of Europe and Asia could be found in the forty shops, some of whose owners possessed a capital of over a million pesos.²⁷ In 1602 Viceroy Monterey described to the King the luxury of the capital of the great viceroyalty.²⁸ "All these people live most luxuriously," he

²⁵ Montesclaros to the King, October 10, 1611, *Documentos inéditos—América y Oceanía*, VI. 303.

²⁶ *Memorial Informativo, Extracto Historial*, f. 260. Bañuelos y Carrillo advised that only raw silk be sent to Mexico. "Accordingly", he says, "the inhabitants of the Manilas would not charge themselves with the commissions of Mexicans, and they would get all the profit derived from those islands, which is now quite universally in the hands of foreigners." *Relation des Isles Philippines* (1638), B. and R., XXIX. 77. The *cédula* of 1720, which suppressed the trade in manufactured silks, still permitted the export of the raw product to Mexico. *Extracto Historial*, f. 42. Woodes Rogers, writing in 1712, said: "Abundance of raw Silk is brought from China, and of late Years worked up into rich Brocades equal to any made in Europe." *A Cruising Voyage Round the World*, p. 334.

²⁷ *Descripción anónima del Peru y de Lima á principios del siglo XVII, compuesta por un judío portugués y dirigida á los estados de Holanda*, edited by José de la Riva Agüero, in *Congreso de Sevilla* (1914), p. 359.

²⁸ Monterey to the King, May 15, 1602, B. and R., XII. 63; also found undated and unsigned in *A. de I.*, 67-6-34. This report was given in answer to the King's request for information on the advisability of granting the petition of the merchants of Lima for the reopening of the trade in Oriental products, after the promulgation of the prohibitory laws described below. The Peruvians wanted permission to send two ships yearly to the Philippines with 1,000,000 pesos, or at

says. "All wear silk, and of the most fine and costly quality. The gala dresses and clothes of the women are so many and so excessive that in no other kingdom of the world are found such." High up in the Andes, Potosí, "the Imperial City," and "heart of the Indies," was in her bonanza times, and leading a riotous career of indulgence, for which the stream of silver from the Cerro furnished abundant means.²⁹ This city of feverish life a Portuguese Jew called, "by reason of its riches the most fortunate and happiest of the world's cities".³⁰ A century later Woodes Rogers wrote of the Peruvians: "The Spaniards here are very profuse in their Clothing and Equipage, and affect to wear the most costly things that can be purchased; so that those who trade hither with such Commodities as they want, may be sure to have the greatest Share of their Wealth."³¹

Royal sanction was given for the Chinese-Philippine trade with New Spain, Peru, Guatemala, and Tierra Firme by a *cédula* of April 14, 1579.³² Governor Sande early planned a direct trade from Manila to Peru,³³ but it was his successor, Gonzalo Ronquillo, who sent the first ships to Callao. One crossed in 1581 and another followed the next year.³⁴ Both

least one with half that amount for investment. They estimated that the former would yield them 6,000,000 pesos, on which they offered to pay a ten per cent duty. They counted on this offer of some 600,000 pesos a year to bring them the coveted privilege. However, in lieu of this they would accept the right to trade in Oriental goods at Acapulco. Monterey, who was consistently favorable to the extension of the Philippine trade, recommended the granting of the right to invest a half million pesos at Acapulco.

²⁹ For a vivid picture of life in Potosí, see Bernard Moses, *The Spanish Dependencies in South America* (1914), II. ch. 1.

³⁰ *Descripción anónima, ut supra.*

³¹ *A Cruising Voyage Round the World* (1712), p. 339. "The Ladies, who are extravagant in their Apparel, impoverish the Country by purchasing the richest Silks." *Ibid.*, p. 344. Rogers said of silk manufactures in Peru: "Abundance of raw Silk is brought from China, and of late years worked up into rich Brocades equal to any made in Europe." *Ibid.*, p. 334.

³² *Extracto Historial*, f. 247b.

³³ Sande to the King, June 18, 1580, *A. de I.*, 67-6-6.

³⁴ Ronquillo to the King, June 19, 1582, *A. de I.*, 67-6-6; Concepcion, *Historia*, II. 86; *Expediente sobre los navios de Filipinas que fueron al Perú con mercaderías, y sobre si convendría que fuesen á aquel reyno, y no al de Nueva España, como estaba mandado*, *A. de I.*, 2-5-1/18. Enríquez de Almansa, formerly viceroy of

were highly profitable ventures, and Peruvians and Manileños hoped for an indefinite continuance of the voyages. However, a royal order of 1582 interdicted the traffic at its very beginning, and caused the cessation of the direct voyages.³⁵ For this new line threatened serious competition with the Porto Bello galleons, which had hitherto supplied this field from Spain. A whole series of prohibitory legislation followed. A law of 1591 forbade trading between Peru, Tierra Firme, Guatemala, "or any other parts of the Indies, and China or the Philippines".³⁶ A *cédula* of the next year, successively re-issued in 1593, 1595, and 1604, merely stated the same principle in another form, in restricting the American trade with the Orient to New Spain.³⁷ The reiteration of these prohibitions and the severe penalties always fixed for their violation—a ruinous fine, or the confiscation of the property of all implicated in the offence, or even exile or the galleys—show the anxiety with which the central government attempted to maintain the peninsular monopoly in that region. The attempt of Governor Luis Pérez Dasmariñas in 1596,³⁸ and the project of Governor Fajardo in 1620 for sending a yearly ship to Panama,³⁹ there to make connections with the Peruvian merchants, failed to shake this resolution,

New Spain and now of Peru, and always ill-disposed to the Philippine trade, said that Ronquillo's ship was laden with "porcelain, silks, spices, iron, wax, 'mantas' of Ilocos, y otras bujerías". Enríquez to the King, August 6, 1582, in *expediente* cited above. Enríquez declared that Chinese silks threatened to drive peninsular stuffs from the Peruvian market. *Idem* to *idem*, January 29, 1581, *ibid.* Ronquillo had accompanied his trading expedition with overtures to the viceroy to grant a favorable reception to the traffic. Ronquillo to the viceroy, May 31, 1581, *A. de I.*, 2-5-1/18.

³⁵ "De aquí en adelante estareis advertido á no dar lugar ni permitir que en essas provincias se vendan ni contraten mercaderías ni otras cosas de las yslas Filipinas." The King to Enríquez, June 11, 1582, *A. de I.*, 2-5-1/18. F. A. Kirkpatrick, writing in the *Cambridge Modern History*, X. 255, says: "A galleon . . . sailed annually from Manila to Callao till 1592, and thenceforward to Acapulco." This error is probably derived from Anson, *Voyage Round the World*, p. 324. Anson says: "In the infancy of this trade [the Manila Galleon line] it was carried on between Callao and Manila".

³⁶ *Leyes*, lib. 9, tit. 45, ley 5.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, ley 71.

³⁸ Dasmariñas to the King, June 30, 1596, B. and R., IX. 261.

³⁹ Fajardo to the King, August 15, 1620, B. and R., XIX. 105.

as did the petition of Arandía in the middle of the eighteenth century.⁴⁰ It was only in 1779 that the Manileños were permitted to trade directly with Peru.⁴¹ This was during the War of American Independence, and the concession, which was intended to alleviate the straits of both the Philippines and the American colonies, was limited to two years.

The only other avenue for the entrance of Asiatic goods into Peru was by way of Acapulco, through transshipment from the Manila Galleons to the vessels locally known as the "Lima ships". From very early a flourishing trade was carried on at Acapulco between merchants from Peru and the Manila representatives.⁴² The islanders welcomed the coming of the Peruvians to the *feria*, for they were always well supplied with silver, and their competition with the Mexicans for the galleon's cargo raised prices. From 1585 Viceroy Villamanrique levied duties on the exports to Peru,⁴³ but in 1589 he temporarily suspended the traffic, on the grounds that it was contrary to royal orders, and that it would moreover cause a scarcity in New Spain, since the arrival of the *flota* for that year was uncertain.⁴⁴ Philip II. had issued the inevitable ban on the trade in 1587, two years before the Viceroy's act of suspension.⁴⁵ This decree, reiterated in 1593, and twice in 1599, was one of the most momentous decrees in the history of the commerce, for it closed—at least legally—a field for oriental imports that would in all probability have been a richer market than even New Spain could be.

However, two *navíos de permiso* were conceded to carry to Peru the investments of 200,000 ducats in exclusively Mexican products. The latter limitation could not be enforced, and in

⁴⁰ The King to Arandía, September 27, 1760, *A. de I.*, 105-2-7.

⁴¹ The royal order, which was issued May 18, 1779, is quoted in a letter of the Viceroy of Peru to Josef de Gálvez, January 21, 1782, *A. de I.*, 108-4-25.

⁴² "Shipments to Peru of prohibited goods brought from Manila were made openly and were productive of great gain". Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, III. 30.

⁴³ Villamanrique to the King, December 9, 1585, *A. de I.*, 67-6-6.

⁴⁴ *Idem* to *idem*, February 11, 1589, *A. de I.*, 58-3-11.

⁴⁵ *Leyes*, lib. 9, tit. 45, ley. 68; Grau y Monfalcón, *Memorial informatorio, Extracto Historial*, f. 247b.

1604 all trade between the two viceroyalties was ordered to cease.⁴⁶ "Inasmuch as the trade in Chinese stuffs has increased to excessive proportions in Peru," runs this law, "notwithstanding so many prohibitions expedient to our royal service, the welfare and utility of the public cause, and the commerce of these and those kingdoms;—therefore we order and command the viceroys of Peru and New Spain to prohibit and suppress, without fail, this commerce and trade between both kingdoms, by all the ways and means possible." "This prohibition shall be kept strictly and shall continue to be so kept," was the mandate that closed the edict. And the decree was re-issued in 1609, in 1620, in 1634,⁴⁷ in 1636,⁴⁸ and finally in 1706!⁴⁹

Several auxiliary laws were intended to aid in the enforcement of the main prohibition. Thus, ships plying between Callao, Guayaquil, Panamá, and Nicaragua ports, and which were accustomed to proceed on to Acapulco from the latter, to take on goods from Manila, were ordered in 1621 to discontinue the final and illegal stage of their voyage.⁵⁰ Three, all of which apparently dated from 1604, were directly complementary to the central law. One prohibits the carrying of Chinese goods from Acapulco to Peru on a non-commercial vessel under any pretext, such as that they were a gift to church, or charity.⁵¹ For prodigious donations of this kind often furnished a sacrosanct

⁴⁶ *Leyes, ut supra, ley 78.* (Translated in B. and R., XVII. 44).

⁴⁷ A *cédula* of November 23, 1634 "suspended" for five years the *navío de permiso*, because it had carried Chinese goods to Peru. *Extracto Historial* f. 15.

⁴⁸ This was issued as a result of the recommendations of the *visitador*, Quiroga, who seems to have found the previous orders unobserved. This order led to the protests of the *procurador*, Grau y Monfalcón. *Justificación de la conservacion, y comercio de las Islas Philipinas, Extracto Historial*, ff. 15b-18.

⁴⁹ In 1747, the *Consulado* of Mexico addressed a memorial to Viceroy Horcasitas, in which they declared: "Aun dentro de los dominios de su Magestad Católica es ilícito, reprobado el Comercio de este Reyno con el del Perú, siendo aquellos, y estos comerciantes vasallos de un mismo Monarcha. . . . Los autores de estas prohibiciones y los que en todos tiempos las han esforzado han sido los del Comercio de España pretendiendo estancar para si solos los inmensos thesoros de la America." June 30, 1747, *A. de I.*, 61-2-25.

⁵⁰ *Leyes, ut supra, ley 77.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, ley 69.

cover to large smuggling operations. A second decree fixed severe penalties for port or ship's officials, whose negligence or criminal connivance was responsible for the passage of any Chinese goods into Peru.⁵² The third was a general order to the Viceroy of Peru, enjoining the "exact execution and fulfilment" of the aforesaid ordinances.⁵³ The immediate charge of the administration of these laws was to be entrusted to a member of the audiencia of Lima, in whom "entire confidence" could be placed.

Seldom was the execution of any group of laws in the colonial code of the empire insisted on with equal persistence or rigor. The King charged the "conscience and care of his servants", and trusted to their "complete faithfulness". And, indeed, an inexorable *visitador* or viceroy might make the laws a reality for a short period, as did Viceroy Gelves,⁵⁴ and Pedro de Quiroga,⁵⁵ at Acapulco, and Viceroy Monclova at Lima,⁵⁶ while the removal of the lax viceroy of Peru in 1678⁵⁷ showed that they were not entirely a dead letter. However, these violent and temporary resuscitations by unusually zealous officials, while they had a certain deterrent effect over a period, only cause the habitual inobservance of these laws to be the more evident. There were few men whose resolve, even when fortified by the King's express commission, and armed with the dire penalties provided by the laws, could long face the almost unanimous hostility of citizens and fellow officials to these prohibitions.

⁵² *Ibid.*, ley 70. A somewhat similar law of 1641 is entitled: "Que los oficiales reales de Acapulco reconozcan y aprehendan las mercaderías de China y Filipinas que se llevaren al Perú." *Ibid.*, lib. 8, tit. 17, ley 15.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, lib. 9, tit. 45, ley 76.

⁵⁴ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁵⁵ The King to Palafox y Mendoza, February 14, 1640, *A. de I.*, 105-2-12. "The inhabitants of the Manilas and the factors of the Peruvians . . . [were] fearful of that news [*i.e.*, the coming of Quiroga] and of that name of visitor." Bañuelos y Carrillo, *Relation des Iles Philippines*, in B. and R., XXIX. 70.

⁵⁶ Consulado of Cadiz to the King, *Extracto Historial*, f. 70b.

⁵⁷ Vanderlinden, *L'Expansion Coloniale*, p. 395.

The venality and corruption in every rank of the viceregal government in Peru seems to have been almost universal.⁵⁸ "From viceroy to archbishop everyone trades, although secretly and by the agency of another," wrote the Portuguese Jew, quoted before.⁵⁹ These precautions were made necessary by various considerations. The viceroys usually came of noble families, and the traditions of this class, as well as the viceregal instructions, forbade participation in trade, while the clergy were expressly forbidden by law to engage in commercial transactions. Officials were suspicious of each other, too, and the long arm of the *residencia* might reach them, in spite of the usual power of their accumulations to negate that ordeal. "The Corregidores make vast Advantages," said Woodes Rogers, the English privateer, "by their Seizures, and trading privately themselves. . . . The Spaniards say, and I believe, not without Reason, that a Viceroy, after purchasing his Place with all that he has, quits Old Spain like a hungry Lion, to devour all that he can; and that every Officer under him in all the Provinces (who are ten times more than are necessary) are his Jackals to procure Prey for him, that they may have a share of it themselves."⁶⁰ Private traders, he says, who refused to compound with the officials, were treated with great severity and, though seized "in the King's name", the goods confiscated from these men were divided among the customs officers. The most serious revelations of conditions in Peru were made by the royal commissioners Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, who visited South America in 1735.⁶¹ "Neither honor, conscience, fear, nor recognition of the fact that they are paid high salaries by the King, can keep these officials faithful to their charge," they reported in their confidential report.⁶² Customs officials offered induce-

⁵⁸ "In spite of the prohibition, a very large quantity of Chinese silk is taken to Peru and Tierra Firme from New Spain—the viceroys, generals, and justices favoring it for their own private interest." Juan Velásquez Madr.co, October 7, 1628, B. and R., XXII. 280.

⁵⁹ See above, note 27.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

⁶¹ *Noticias Secretas*, pp. 201-221, and *passim*.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 215.

ments to contraband traders to frequent their ports, for the opportunity it gave them to share in the profits of smuggling, and the very guards of the revenue service aided in conveying inland to Lima or up to Cuzco or Potosí goods whose introduction had been notoriously illegal. The same lax state of affairs was found to exist at Guayaquil, the port of entry for the Quito country.

Juan and Ulloa saw Chinese porcelain for sale in the shops of Lima,⁶³ and Chinese silks were sold and worn quite openly from Chile to Panamá, where the Oriental stuffs predominated in the garb of the Spanish population, from the vestments of the priests to the *mantos* and silk stockings of the Limeñas. The trade in goods from Manila was so much more profitable than that in imports from the Peninsula that the traffic with Acapulco continued in spite of all the repeated legal precautions that have been enumerated, and by means of the almost universal subordination of compliant officials. The *navío de permiso*, or Lima Ship, continued its voyages with more or less regularity after the decree of 1604, and its accompanying and subsequent fulminations, and its operations even survived the *visita* of the relentless Quiroga, who was determined to suppress once for all this defiant traffic, and who at least effected a temporary suspension of its activities. However, at the end of the seventeenth century Peruvian ships were coming to Puerto del Marqués, a few miles north of Acapulco,⁶⁴ while in the early part of the next, English privateers tried to take the Lima Ship out of Acapulco harbor.⁶⁵ "She arrives a little before Christmas," says Dampier, "and brings Quicksilver, Cacao and Pieces of eight. She takes in a cargo of Spices, Silks, Calicoes and Muslins and other East Indian commodities for the use of Peru." The *cedula* of 1706, which revived the old prohibitions, comments on "the lack of observance of the laws, and the very serious damage that results from it to the commerce of these

⁶³ *A Voyage to South America* (1760).

⁶⁴ Gemelli Careri, in Churchill, *Voyages*, IV. 503. Gemelli reached Acapulco in January, 1698.

⁶⁵ Dampier, *Voyage*, I. 261.

kingdoms".⁶⁶ "The relaxation of the laws," it continues, "has reached the point where the exportation of Oriental goods to Peru has become a frequent and customary traffic." This trade was carried on by ordinary merchant vessels that left Callao or some other Peruvian port, with Acapulco, or Puerto del Marqués, as their express destination, or by coasting ships that ran up above the prescribed limits on the west coast to invest in a cargo of the forbidden merchandise. The transfer of dignitaries between the two viceroyalties was a frequent occasion for a voyage, and these ships, southward-bound out of Acapulco, seldom went in ballast. Below the hatches were rich bales and chests, of whose presence the viceroy or archbishop on board was either not cognizant, or conveniently ignored—unless they were more directly interested in their ownership.

On the other side of the continent ships carried on a similar, though lesser trade, with other parts of the Spanish colonies. In 1748, representatives of Andalusian commercial interests in Mexico charged that the cargo of the Manila galleon was distributed very widely throughout Spanish America, in contravention of the law which limited its sale and final consumption to New Spain.⁶⁷ Imports from this source reached not only Peru, but Guatemala, Tierra Firme, Campeche, Caracas, and the Windward Islands, as well as the Greater Antilles, either by way of Vera Cruz or Panamá-Porto Bello.

WILLIAM LYTLE SCHURZ.

⁶⁶ *Real cédula*, February 15, 1706, *A. de I.*, 61-1-30.

⁶⁷ *Apoderados del comercio de la Vieja España* to the King, April 30, 1748, *A. de I.*, 107-1-12. The Andalusian merchants had charged, over a century before, that more than 3,000,000 pesos were yearly sent from Peru to invest in Chinese goods. Grau y Monfalcón, *op. cit.*, f. 251b. Bañuelos y Carrillo said: "If the King does not put a stop to it, the Chinese will absorb all the wealth of Peru." *Op cit.*, p. 73. He declared that "the King of China could build a palace with the silver bars from Peru, which have been carried to China because of this traffic".

ADMINISTRATION OF JOSÉ BALLIVIÁN IN BOLIVIA

[This short paper, which was prepared, under the direction of Walter Lichtenstein, Ph.D., formerly of Northwestern University, and now Foreign Trade Adviser of the First National Bank of Chicago, by Ethel M. Crampton, M.A., and Laura F. Ullrick, M.A., as a part of their seminar work, furnishes a good introduction to a portion of the material to be found in the Lanza Collection of Manuscripts preserved in the above named university.

As stated by the authors their work is mainly suggestive, but it is to be hoped that comparative and well rounded studies may be made along the lines indicated by them. The colonization attempts alone would form a valuable part of a study of the land question. It is also to be hoped that other institutions which possess collections of manuscripts treating of Hispanic America will have introductory or complete studies made in them.—J. A. R.]

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

The following brief sketch of the administration of José Ballivián is the product of a seminar conducted at Northwestern University during the academic year 1917-1918. The task of the seminar was to make a superficial examination of some of the correspondence relating to the modern history of Bolivia which had come to Northwestern University as its share of the Lanza Collection. It may be recalled that one of the manuscripts of this collection was the basis of the work published by Northwestern University in 1917 as *Bibolotti, Moseteno Vocabulary and Treatises*.

The collection of letters forming the basis of the following paper have been bound together to form three volumes, one of

the volumes being labeled *Letters from General José Ballivián*, another *Letters to General José Ballivián*, and the third volume *Antonio and Nicholas Acosta*. The material used by no means exhausts the collection in the possession of Northwestern University. There are several other volumes bearing on this period and on the personality of José Ballivián. Apparently, the letters in possession of Northwestern University form a complement to those used by José María Santivañez for his *Vida del General José Ballivián*, New York, 1891. Undoubtedly, a more prolonged study of the material at Northwestern University and the material used by Santivañez would fill out the monograph here begun. As it is, little more has been done than to raise some interesting questions and give some indication of the answers. The period dealt with is one little known and little studied, and especially is this true of the Bolivian side of those developments which ultimately led to the War of the Pacific. It is in the hope that the publication of this study may lead others to investigate more carefully the large amount of source material lying idle at Northwestern University that I urged the Misses Crampton and Ullrick to publish the results of their study.

WALTER LICHTENSTEIN.

I

The administration of José Ballivián as president of Bolivia covered the years from 1841 to 1847. He rose to prominence in the Bolivian state during the presidency of Santa Cruz (1828-1838). The latter's pet dream was a confederation between Peru and Bolivia. With the assistance of Gamarra, a Peruvian leader, this was accomplished in 1836.

The possession of the nitrate fields on the west coast of South America had long been a question of dispute between the three states, Peru, Chile, and Bolivia. The union of the two others aroused the fears of Chile lest she would lose all claims to this valuable territory, so she declared war on the confederation. While this war was in progress, Velasco, vice-president of

Bolivia, led a revolution against Santa Cruz and became president with Ballivián as vice-president, June 13, 1839. Following the example of his superior, Ballivián raised the standard of revolt against Velasco, July 6, 1839. The attempt failed and Ballivián fled to Peru.

The next year General Sebastian Agreda, one of the chief officers of the Bolivian army, drove Velasco from the country. Agreda doubtless expected to become president, but the people desired to bring back Ballivián who claimed that he wished to restore order as it had been under Santa Cruz. Popular meetings in the principal cities of Bolivia during September, 1840, voted to recall him, and the assembly at Sucre proclaimed him provisional president. Thus invited, Ballivián returned and either compromised with, or defeated all the leaders of the revolution,¹ so that in September 1841, he was invested by the National Assembly with the supreme command, offering as the program of his provisional government, "to respect and make respected the Catholic religion, individual security, and property".²

This result probably was hastened by the threatened invasion from Peru which took place October 2, 1841. From letters written by Ballivián to Don Antonio Acosta, governor of the province of Omasuyos, a man in whom Ballivián had great confidence, the campaign can be followed from the beginning, through the battle of Ingavi, which was a great victory over the Peruvian forces where Gamarra was killed, through the subsequent invasion of Peru in the departments of Puno and Moquegua, to the signing of the treaty of peace at Puno, May 19, 1842.³

After Ballivián's return from the Peruvian campaign, he inspected the provinces of Bolivia especially with reference to their financial resources. From the beginning of his administration money troubles were ever present. Funds never became

¹ Ballivián to Don Domingo Hurtado, September 7, 1841; *id.*, to Gen. Sebastian Agreda, June 17, 1841.

² Santivañez, *Vida del General José Ballivián* (New York, 1891), p. 94.

³ See letters to Acosta between the dates, October 5, 1842 and July 12, 1842.

plentiful—a condition reflected by frequent references in his correspondence to money shortage. Writing to Acosta, November 11, 1842, he says, "I assure you that everything progresses well, that order is being established, and that the only obstacle to conquer is the lack of money." Again, under date of January 20, 1846, writing of navigation plans, he declares, "Guano produces nothing. With what shall we make payments?"

Ballivián was made constitutional president by direct vote of the people in April, 1843, and held this position till December 26, 1847. One of the knottiest problems of the first years of his presidency was the disposition of Santa Cruz who was held prisoner by Chile. At length it was agreed to leave the decision to a joint commission from Chile, Peru, and Bolivia, which after much discussion agreed to transport him to Europe, a plan which was carried out, April 1, 1846.⁴

The letters to Acosta between 1844 and 1846, while the latter was in London and Paris as consul general, would cause one to imagine that Bolivia enjoyed a state of almost ideal calm and peace during the term of Ballivián's administration; for a common ending of the letters is, "There is no news in all Bolivia", or, "The Republic remains in the most complete tranquillity; order and peace are fully established".⁵ Frequently, an injunction follows to spread this report in Europe, accompanied by enclosures from the *Restaurador*, his official newspaper, intended to impress the reader with the peace, prosperity, and promise of Bolivia.

Ballivián's head seems to have been full of all sorts of schemes for the economic improvement of his country. Just after the battle of Ingavi, when the nation must still have been much disorganized, and the campaign into Peru was in full swing, he wrote to Acosta in regard to a plan for establishing post-offices and a regular postal service.⁶ He tried to interest investors in a steamer service on the lakes and rivers of his country. To encourage foreign trade, and to secure capital for the exploitation

⁴ Ballivián to Acosta, November 27, 1844; December 4, 1845; March 27, 1846.

⁵ Ballivián to Acosta, September 12, 1844, and most of those dated in 1845.

⁶ Ballivián to Acosta, December 12, 1841.

of Bolivia's resources of guano and Peruvian bark, Ballivián looked to Europe.⁷ As early as February 26, 1842, in a letter to Acosta, he spoke of a plan for sending a commission to Europe to promote commercial enterprises, although he did not think it was yet time to speak of it publicly. After numerous delays, toward the end of 1843, Acosta was sent as "consul general of Bolivia to the United Kingdom of Great Britain",⁸ going to London *via* Valparaiso. His instructions were never written out in one document, but were scattered through many letters. He was told, for instance, to make contracts for paving stones, glass, guns, and ammunition; to visit manufactories and select traveling men to send to Bolivia; also, to investigate mines and mining machinery and to send over engineers to install such in Bolivian mines; and to interest capitalists in navigation from the Atlantic Ocean to Bolivia *via* the Paraguay, Pilcomayo, and Otuki rivers.⁹ Part of his mission as well was to obtain from the Pope a dispensation for the establishment of a new bishopric of Cochabamba.¹⁰

Money for the expenses of this representative was arranged for through the mercantile firm of Gibbs, Crawley & Company, which had a branch house in Valparaiso with headquarters in London. Initial expenses were partly borne by the Church. Funds were to be replenished by the proceeds from the sale of guano. At the time of Acosta's departure, the outlook for the guano business was bright, and Ballivián hoped for large returns through the encouragement of companies to exploit it, a percentage of whose profits were to be paid to the government. The first obstacle encountered was the discovery in Africa, just after Acosta's arrival in London, of similar deposits. These were soon found, however, to be of inferior quality, and apparently had little effect on the trade of the Bolivian product. At any rate, through the years 1844 and 1845, there seems to have been

⁷ Ballivián to Acosta, May 5, 1845; June 20, 1845; April 20 and 30, 1847.

⁸ The history of this project can be traced in the letters to Acosta from June 30, 1842 to September 19, 1843.

⁹ Ballivián to Acosta, May 29, 1845.

¹⁰ Ballivián to Acosta, October 21, 1846; November 3, 1846.

a fairly good business in this commodity, and several companies, such as Bland & Co., were organized. Then the trade suffered a decline, funds became short, and Acosta was recalled by an order of the National Congress for financial reasons and because he was considered useless.¹¹

The mission of Acosta was not satisfactory. In the first place, the means of communication were too uncertain. Several letters were lost and months often went by without word from him. Hence he had to carry on negotiations on his own responsibility to a large extent. He failed to accomplish much and what he did accomplish was not always pleasing.

1. He sent over several mining engineers, but they were unsatisfactory and he was asked not to send any more.¹²

2. He contracted with Alcide Dessalines d'Orbigny for the writing and publication of a history and geography of Bolivia. Ballivián thought it cost too much, especially as the treasury was empty, and took him sharply to task for having made the bargain without consultation. However, the books were finally received and paid for by the state.¹³

3. He sent some machinery and supplies but omitted the invoices, so that the cost was unknown and Ballivián was at a loss as to what was a fair price to ask for them.¹⁴

4. Just as he was getting the project for the navigation of the Pilcomayo River under way, war broke out between England, France, and Argentina, and Rosas closed the Plate River to navigation. This put a stop to the project.¹⁵

5. He failed to negotiate any of the loans so badly needed.

In 1846, came news of the proposed expedition of Flores to recover his place in Ecuador.¹⁶ Bolivia, together with the other South American states, was much excited by the prospect. The revolution in Ecuador did not take place, but Bolivia

¹¹ Ballivián to Acosta, December 19, 1846.

¹² Ballivián to Acosta, June 20, 1845; December 19, 1846.

¹³ Ballivián to Acosta, September 27, 1845; July 4, 1847. The work, consisting of one volume and the first part of the Atlas, was published at Paris, 1845-46.

¹⁴ Ballivián to Acosta, July 2 and December 19, 1846; April 20, 1847.

¹⁵ Ballivián to Acosta, January 20, and March 27, 1846; March 17, 1847.

¹⁶ Ballivián to Acosta, December 19, 1846.

failed to quiet down. Unrest was evident in various sections, and in July, 1847, an insurrection broke out, which was led by Belzu, a commander in the army. This outbreak was checked, but the discontent seemed general, although not all were agreed to follow Belzu. Santivañez says that the dissatisfaction was because of Ballivián's boastfulness and faculty for making enemies.¹⁷ December 26, 1847, Ballivián resigned rather than continue to distress his country with civil war, and retired to Valparaiso where he engaged in mercantile and banking business for a few years. During this time, he maintained a correspondence with General Agreda, always discussing the possibilities of his return to power in Bolivia; but their schemes failed to materialize.¹⁸ In 1851, he went to Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, where he pursued his old hobby of colonization, this time in Ecuador. He fell a victim to yellow fever and died in 1852.¹⁹

II

Judging from his letters, the colonization bee must have buzzed as busily in the brain of Ballivián as did its revolutionary ancestor in the ear of Miranda. Only the more definite of many proposed schemes will be suggested in this limited space. Santivañez tells how Ballivián sent out exploring parties along the river courses in order to find out whether Bolivia had access through her natural waterways to the Atlantic. In a letter dated January 3, 1843, Ballivián stated to Colonel Manuel Rodriguez Magarinos his chief reason for sending out the expedition under his direction and asked him to read a publication called "Angelis", sent him by the commander-in-chief of Potosí, treating of affairs in Paraguay, the navigation of the Bermejo, the Pilcomayo, etc. Magarinos was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the government of Paraguay, and was presented in Buenos Aires as Colonel Manuel Rodriguez, special commissioner in the Magarinosarian mission. War between the Re-

¹⁷ Santivañez, Chap. X.

¹⁸ Letters to Agreda from Valparaiso during 1849 and 1850.

¹⁹ Santivañez, Chap. XII.

pública Oriental and Paraguay, enhanced by Anglo-French intervention, complicated the difficulties of the expedition.⁶ After withstanding fierce fights with savage natives and overcoming insuperable obstacles in primeval forest passages, the valiant little party arrived at the place where the broad Pilcomayo divides into many small streams, and near this point the courage of the gallant explorer failed him and he returned reporting a profitless adventure. The Magarinos bears his name as a memorial.

Nothing daunted, Ballivián next sent out a young Belgian, Van Nivel, who was no more fortunate than his predecessor.²⁰ To Acosta, consul of the Republic, in Paris, the next appeal was sent, asking that M. Liversant, a French marine officer, be engaged to lead an expedition up the Beni,²¹ and in 1848, a note was addressed to Acosta advising him to confer with Schooley & Co. regarding the navigation of that river. That these persistently spasmodic exploring parties yielded some material satisfaction, it is reasonable to believe from the colonization schemes which they, no doubt, fathered.

Santivañez mentions a Franco-Belgian settlement which Ballivián desired to found on the Beni.²² It was sanctioned, he states, by the Congress of 1844, with restrictions which were not accepted by the company, and accordingly the project was given up. Two years earlier Ballivián wrote to Acosta from Sucre²³ rejoicing in the perfectly established colonies of Mojos, Fasiya, Frontesa, and Saguna, and voicing a new decree for giving more lands to colonists. He also sent help to encourage the feeble colony of Chaltana which had been hindered by Baccarezo, who would not give passage to colonists in Omasuyos on the Beni.²⁴ Four years later he planned a military colony, to be called the Villa Rodrigo, which was to extend its frontier across the regions occupied by savage tribes in the disputed

²⁰ Santivañez, p. 147.

²¹ Ballivián to Acosta, September 27, 1843.

²² Santivañez, p. 149.

²³ Ballivián to Acosta, October 12, 1842.

²⁴ Ballivián to Acosta, July 27, 1842.

territory of the Great Chaco. This colony in the department of Tarija was to contain five hundred families.

An interesting series of letters was written to Ballivián by a Mr. August Ried regarding the establishment of German colonies in Bolivia. From Valparaiso, in August, 1849, he planned as follows: "This province (Concepción) presents the greatest advantages and the fewest hindrances. We must introduce all the following branches of industry: slaughter of animals, buying stock of the Indians, and raising others like the Chilean herdsmen, working salt into the flesh, hams, hides, soap, etc., manufacturing of oil from linseed and other seeds well known to us.—Cultivation of hemp. Consumption of this article is immense. It requires little care and yields a magnificent profit. The hemp of Chile is the best known.—The manufacture of *good* wine. The wine of Concepción is in itself rare. Spirituous liquors of barley which is abundant.—Breeding of ewes, merinos, llamas.—Making of butter and cheese, etc. I think I have indicated sufficiently, and I think it is true that there is no enterprise equal to this in the country."

Unfortunately, we have not yet found the reply to this letter nor the intervening correspondence of Mr. Ried, but two years after the date of the above letter, he wrote again from Valparaiso giving the completed plan of the colony,²⁵ which was to be named Valhalla. Each lot was to be one-fourth of a square, to be measured off by stakes and numbered. Between eighty and a hundred thousand people were to constitute the colony. "Preparatory to this," he says, "we shall send two persons as commissioners to Europe to sell the land. They are necessarily individuals in the employ of the public in spite of the fact that nominally, as their letters of credit show, they are from the government of Bavaria and Württemberg, for this government does not permit the sale of land in America without the authorization of the government concerned. They hold a value on public lands and they ought to negotiate for some time on populating the land of the states immediately into plantations, with

²⁵ August Ried to Ballivián, October 31, 1851.

poor colonists, who will adjust themselves to the land, paying them their passage. If they will conform to this as indicated, I will promise the sale of all this land to persons of wealth and the populating the province with a select people who will establish their own factories of all kinds and start the industries I have previously pointed out."

This plan probably failed for lack of funds, as indicated by a letter written later from San Domingo, in which Ried suggested that Ballivián's estimate is too low since the traveling expenses alone of the commissioners will be two thousand pesos, exclusive of printing and agents.

Still another account of an ill-fated colony of Germans is given in an undated letter from Mr. Ried to Ballivián.²⁶ He says that about five years previously the first attempts were made by a German house in Valparaiso to plant a colony on the banks of the Riobueno, under the direction of Señor Philippi.²⁷ Twenty families were sent out, but they failed to show the proper spirit, and under poor management the debt of the colony rose to thirty thousand dollars. Aside from faults in the colony itself, the failure was due to endless legal proceedings and interminable discussions in the Republic. Mr. Ried states fully his reasons for pushing colonization: *directly*, through the medium of the people, industries are established and manufacturing, which hitherto has not existed and without this scheme could not be begun; *indirectly*, the land which was of little value when settled becomes of great worth. After citing the failure of Valdivia owing to over-ambition in competing with the United States, Brazil, and the English colonies in New Holland, he sums up his plan for colonizing as follows:

- 1) Make a map, well drafted, of the town which is to be located on the Biobio, marking the exact location.
- 2) Put down in legal form the offers made to the colony.
- 3) Authorize this document by a ministerial order and have it known to every foreign consul.

²⁶ Letters to Ballivián, 1841 to 1852.

²⁷ Grandfather of Dr. Julio Philippi, the present well known Chilean jurist and statesman.

4) Choose a situation so that poor colonists may have small plots and the well-to-do, larger tracts.

5) Appoint capable persons to direct the undertaking, as agents in Europe and to intervene against the intervention of the authorities.

6) Send out at least two hundred German families with five hundred adults.

7) Publish the advantages guaranteed by the colony which is officially under the direction of the German Society of Emigration. Try to interest the better classes even those who have no money for transportation.

The stipulations of the contract were:

1) To each adult, the father of a family, be given twenty squares of land—two cleared, eighteen mountainous.

2) The cleared square is worth four pesos, the mountainous, one peso.

3) Each adult shall be given a shovel, a spade, one small bar, two chests, and a hand saw.

4) Between each twelve persons shall be a chest of carpenter's tools. On each twenty squares they shall be given two cows, and a yoke of oxen. They shall sow wheat, and they shall be kept for the first year in flour, beans, fats, and potatoes.

The enterprise will not pay for the first three years; the fourth year it will pay fifty dollars at least and the increase in the value of the land.

An undated note in Ballivián's handwriting mentions this project of Mr. Ried and states that the two agents will leave for Europe on November twenty-fourth, authorizing an expense account of eight thousand pesos. He also names Señor Ried director of the enterprise.²⁸

Whether or not this colony was undertaken, we do not know, but the propaganda was active under Ballivián. He was furthermore constantly trying to take advantage of the inventions of other countries as shown by the fact that Bolivia was the first of South American countries to attempt to install a tele-

²⁸ Letters to Ballivián, 1841 to 1852.

graph.²⁹ Tools for shoemaking, carpentry, and chair-making. and charts for a public exhibition of methods of manufacturing furniture for the benefit of the State College of Arts³⁰ were among the things Acosta was asked to send from England; new printing presses were imported from the United States;³¹ and rifles, guns, and war vessels of the best equipment were purchased. Schools were established. His plans for taxation to meet these expenses were scientifically made so that the burden should be born equally by the people.

III

As is readily seen, our study of these manuscripts is suggestive rather than conclusive. The following are some of the problems which have suggested themselves as capable of being worked out from this material:

1. A comparative study of Santivañez, "Vida del José Ballivián," these letters being used to search out contradictions, if there are any, and to discover additional matter.
2. A study of the relations of Bolivia with her neighbors, Peru in particular, during Ballivián's time.
3. Ballivián's schemes for economic development.
 - a. Internal improvements.
 - b. Formation of commercial companies.
 - c. Colonization schemes.
 - d. Navigation projects.

ETHEL M. CRAMPTON.
LAURA F. ULLRICK.

²⁹ Ballivián to Acosta, June 10, 1842.

³⁰ Ballivián to Acosta, July 15, 1842.

³¹ Etchart to Ballivián April 30, 1842.

RACE AND SOCIETY IN THE ANDEAN COUNTRIES¹

I. INTRODUCTION

The countries in which the readers of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW are especially interested are distinguished by the presence of sociological and cultural problems which are directly caused by the racial constitution of their populations. In some of the lands in question the race problems concern but two races, usually the white race and the indigenes; but in others as many as four racial elements combine to create a sociological situation of the highest complexity. Until the last three or four years almost nothing has been done, either in Hispanic America or in Anglo-Saxon America, to bring out the present-day potentialities for modern civilization which are indubitably latent in the indigenes of Latin America and in that portion of the population which is derived both from them and from the white, black, or yellow intrusive elements.

Though my purpose here is to present a picture of the racial and social situation as I have observed it in the Andean countries (Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia), I can not do so without first dwelling briefly on the work of a well-known Mexican investigator along these lines.

Manuel Gamio, director of the *Dirección de Estudios Arqueológicos y Etnográficos* (part of the Secretaría de Fomento, Mexico City), is the founder, in Mexico, of race-appreciation, the study which aims to learn what former and present cultural, intellectual, and spiritual characteristics of the indigenes of America are capable of being woven into the fabric of modern civilization. Race-appreciation seeks to understand the geographical characteristics and problems of the land and to com-

¹ This study by Mr. Means is of primary interest from the anthropological side, but it is given place here as being of value to historians and general students of Hispanic America.—Ed.

prehend the psychology and requirements of each racial group to the end that every step may be taken by society to overcome every environmental drawback to cultural development and to bring to the highest possible level of excellence every portion of the population. In a word, race-appreciation seeks to make society strong with a strength which is the unified strength of every ethnic group in the nation.

The means which Gamio purposes to employ in this matter are these:

(1) The acquisition of data referring to the racial characteristics, the manifestations of material and intellectual culture, the languages and dialects, the economic situation and the effects of the physical and biological environment of the past and present regional populations of the Republic [of Mexico]. (2) An investigation into the methods for improving the present economic, physical, and intellectual development of the said populations. (3) The preparation for a drawing-together of races, for a cultural fusion and a linguistic unification, and for the economic stability of the said groups of the population which, only by these means, will be able to form a coherent nationality and a true nation.²

The need of race-appreciation is by no means limited to Mexico. As Gamio has pointed out in many places, most of the Hispanic American countries suffer sorely from its lack. Indeed, one may safely say that any country which has one well-developed native element and one or more well-developed intrusive elements in its population requires race-appreciation.

After thus reminding my reader of the work which is already under way to introduce race-appreciation where it is needed, I shall present a short description of the racial situation in the Andean countries. Only by examining the question with as great care as possible in representative regions can its importance be comprehended.

² Translated from the *Programa de la dirección de estudios arqueológicos y etnográficos*, by Manuel Gamio (Mexico, 1918), pp. 16-17.

Sr. Gamio has been at work on the question of race-appreciation several years. I venture to call attention to his book *Forjando Patria* (Mexico, 1916) and to his papers read before the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress (Washington, 1915). In these works the reader will find a very full and clear exposition of the principles of race-appreciation as it concerns Mexico.

II. RACIAL CLASSES IN THE ANDES

Society in the Andean countries falls into three grand racial categories: Indigenous, Intrusive, and Mix-bloods. For the purposes of this short paper I shall assume that the Whites are the only intrusives and that the Mestizos (cross of indigene and white) are the only mix-bloods. The Negroes, Orientals, and the various mixtures arising from them and the other elements are not of the first importance.

Although reliable figures are practically non-existent in the Andes it is quite safe to assume that at least fifty percent of the population in the Andean countries is made up of almost pure-blooded indigenes. These people are the direct descendants, both in flesh and in culture, of the people who held undisputed sway in the land up to about 1530. To understand those of today, the indigenes of the past must be studied. In the pre-Conquest period the Andes were the seat of a group of civilizations of extraordinary interest. In the highlands there were two great periods of civilization, one being the Colla (or Aymará) empire which had its center at Tiahuanaco near the southern end of Lake Titicaca. It flourished probably between about 400 A.D. and about 1000 A.D. Then, about 1100 A.D., the Inca tribe of Cuzco began to form a hegemony over the surrounding tribes of Quichua-speaking folk and finally, in the fourteenth century, it created the second great empire in the highlands. On the coast culture was more steady and continuous. The first settlers came unquestionably from Central America. There were many valleys which traversed (and still traverse) the absolutely desert coast-lands. Each of them was the seat of a society, usually of high material culture. As time wore on, these societies tended to merge together. Large confederations, such as that of the Chimú in the North and that of the Chíncha or that of Nasca in the South, were formed. Social development was very remarkable. From time to time the mountain cultures, whether that of the Colla (Tiahuanaco) empire or that of the Inca empire, exercised very profound influence over the civilization of the littoral. In the case of the

Inca empire, at least, that influence amounted to political control.

Taken as a whole these pre-Conquest cultures of the Andean countries present several features of high excellence. The coast people had a skill and cleverness in handicrafts which enabled them to produce not only very fine pottery, brilliant in color and varied in form, but also cotton and woolen fabrics equal in quality to those made anywhere at any time. In the working of gold, silver, copper, stone, and bone they were adepts. The buildings and cities constructed by them were made of adobe (sun-dried mud and clay), but they were enormous in size and very well planned. The system of irrigation used on the coast was as efficacious, if not so pretentious, as that now in use. Social organization was characterized by a general orderliness and efficiency. In the highlands, save at Tiahuanaco, Cuzco, Quito, and similar seats of the aristocracy, culture was of a somewhat lower degree of development. Even so, however, the mountaineers were able to build many hundreds of miles of wonderful *andenés* or masonry terraces for agricultural purposes. They adopted this means of increasing the arable area of their narrow valleys, showing therein a sagacity and resourcefulness which commands respect. The architecture of the chief places (such as Cuzco, Ollantaytambo, Pisac, Huata, Machu Pichu, Cañar, and Huánuco) was excellent, fine stone buildings of superb ashlar masonry in various styles being erected. Besides this, there were remarkable paths for the movement of troops and travelers. The government of the Incas was extraordinary. Not only did the state control all the activities of all the people, but also it saw to it that none lacked for anything which he needed. It was a perfect and very benevolent aristocratic socialism. The court of the Sapa Inca (sovereign) was marked by a high degree of splendor. Finely woven hangings, exquisitely designed vessels of pottery, objects of gold, silver, bronze, copper, wood, and stone all combined to give an atmosphere of luxury and pomp to the life of the ruler and of the royal family. All the provinces of the empire (which was nearly 3,000 miles in length at the time of the Conquest)

sent as tribute to the court their most excellent products. There is plenty of evidence to show that the development, both material and intellectual, of the people of all classes in the Inca empire was almost equal to that which had characterized the analogous classes in Spain two or three centuries before the Conquest.

From these remarkable people are descended the indigenes of the Andean countries of today. In the Conquest and Colonial periods they underwent all manner of abuse and misjudgment as to their qualities. I am very far from denying that there were good features in the Spanish Colonial Government; still further am I from denying that the Spanish crown sincerely sought to safeguard the best interests of its new subjects, the native peoples of the New World. Nevertheless, the Spaniards, instead of benefiting the indigenes, well nigh destroyed their wonderful civilization and greatly reduced their numbers. It is not my purpose here to go into the discussion of this matter deeply. I will simply state that, in my opinion the fundamental reason why contact with Spain proved harmful to the natives of the Andes was that the Spanish government took no sympathetic cognizance of the native institutions and failed to construct its administrative machinery in such a way as to incorporate the remarkable governmental system to which the people were almost automatically obedient. When Spain sought to erect an European government over a people who were not European she was doomed to fail.

Although for nearly four centuries the Andean indigenes have been subjected to the deteriorating effects of such a government, it is extraordinary how much of their own ancient organization still survives. I have studied these survivals both on the coast and in the highlands. Underlying the hierarchy of officials who form parts of the national governments of the Andean countries, governments patterned closely on that of the French Republic, is another hierarchy which is entirely unofficial and unrecognized, but which is nevertheless powerful. I refer to the so-called *gobernación menor*. As I shall make clear presently, the Andean countries are largely divided up into great landed estates. The

gobernación menor is that by which the head of one of these estates or, in those regions where the general rule of large estates is broken, the *gobernador* of the district, rules over the Indians and laborers in general within his jurisdiction. At the head of the *gobernación menor* stands the *hacendado* (owner of the estate or *hacienda*). Often several thousand people are directly subject to his will on one estate, and a rich *hacendado* sometimes will own half a dozen or more large estates. To administer them he (or his steward) acts through a series of native officers called *curacas*. They, in turn, have other officers under them. Each village has its *curaca* and its *alguaciles*. All are Indians, and all are direct survivals of the old Inca system of administration. The potentialities latent in this *gobernación menor*, potentialities which might be developed in such a way as to better immensely the government of the Andean countries, should be carefully treated according to the principles of race-appreciation.

As regards the present conditions under which the Indians live, there is a sharp contrast between the coast and the mountains. On the littoral, because of the proximity to the outside world, the presence of very active and highly organized trade, a general enlightenment and progressiveness on the part of the upper class, and one of the finest climates in the world, their condition is by no means wretched, as compared, that is, with the condition of the highlanders. On the coast the people of the indigenous race do not suffer so much from deliberate malignance on the part of their superiors (of which there is very little) as they do from total neglect and from the *laissez aller* attitude of the latter. Except in the cases of such rare exceptions as the estates of Don Victor Larco Herrera and of Don Antonio Graña y Reyes, almost nothing has been done to improve their living conditions or to intensify their vitality by means of sports and wholesome pastimes. A change is coming, however, for a new spirit of interest in the humble is beginning to make itself felt in the upper class. This change is already seen, on the coast, in the care with which the regulations to prevent drunkenness are upheld in many places. It will not be long before great improvements are made in all directions.

In the mountains, on the other hand, the depressing environment of a cold, rocky and difficult land to till combines with a general inferiority on the part of the *hacendados* and with a general prevalence of alcoholism, filth, disease, and debauchery to produce conditions which are exceedingly bad. It is not fair, however, to blame the people of the mountains for their degradation. Their lot is a hard one; added to that, the almost total absence (in remoter valleys quite total) of stimulating contact with the outside world and its ideals and of wholesome amusements, causes life to assume a dun-colored hue and an atmosphere of hopelessness and joylessness which fully accounts for all the evil which prevails. Little by little, even in the highland valleys, conditions are improving. Railways, the telegraph, the telephone, the cinema, the printing-press, and mechanical musical instruments are beginning to make life distinctly more bearable, to help men to shake off sloth and bestiality and become vigorous and alert. The difference in moral tone between two highland villages which I know is simply astounding. They are not as much as six miles apart. In one, because the *hacendado* and his brother the priest are indifferent to the welfare of their charges, conditions of all sorts are horrible. In the other, the *hacendado* has installed a young priest from France, and the two work hand in hand for the people. They have games and races for them on Sundays and holidays and in the evenings there is always a fine cinema or a reading of interesting stories by the priest or some similar amusement which is open to all. The dwellings, too, though far from being what they should be, are much better than those in the other village. The people are stronger, longer-lived, more jolly, and self-respecting, and much more productive as regards work in the fields.

The *mestizo* class forms about thirty to thirty-five percent of the population. The chief difference, in the mountains, between them and the Indians is that they wear garments suggestive of those of Europe, whereas the indigenes keep their ancient costume. The *mestizos* also habitually speak Spanish, not Quichua or Colla. On the coast, the line between them as a rule is much

fainter, in both particulars, for there is now almost no trace either of the ancient dress or of the native tongues on the coast. As a matter of fact, it is exceedingly difficult to find an absolutely pure-blooded indigene on the coast. In the colonial period (and even in more modern times) the practice of concubinage was very general, as it was in the South of this country before the Civil War, and so the number of *mestizos* was very great. It should be added that the practice is now looked upon with general disgust by the *hacendado* class of the littoral. In general it may be said that the *mestizo* class is that which furnishes the stewards of the great estates, the shop-keepers, the small merchants, most of the lower clergy, the minor lawyers, the clerks and the servants who are in direct personal attendance upon the *hacendado* and his family. This statement, however, is made subject to the exceptions to be noted presently.

The pure or nearly pure white class (strongest on the coast) is practically all in the land-holding aristocracy or in the upper ranks of the commercial and professional worlds. They are like white people anywhere else.

III. SOCIAL CLASSES IN THE ANDES

Most writers, realizing the existence of the three great racial classes, have assumed that they are conterminous with the three chief social classes—laborers and peasants, middle class, and upper class. Unfortunately this is only true in a measure. Although most whites are in the upper class it is by no means rarely that one finds them in the other two classes as well. Similarly, one quite frequently finds almost pure-blooded or really pure-blooded Indians in the highest society. The middle class, however, is almost wholly made up of mix-blooded people.

Andean society, using that unfortunate word in its newspaper sense, is delightful. Families whose wealth or position is due to their great landed properties, to their aristocratic descent or to their intermarriage with such families combine with other families whose heads are important lawyers, doctors, or educa-

tors, or are influential in the business world to create a social life of great attractiveness on account of the multiplicity of interests. Lima, La Paz, Sucre, Quito, and other cities all have such a group of families. The genuine hospitality and the lively intellectual interest of such people make them not only charming companions but also sincere friends. It is a pleasure to note that, on the littoral at least, their old faults of absenteeism and indifference to the welfare of their dependents is gradually wearing away. Before long the same thing will be true of the highlands as well. Many land-holding families no longer dwell exclusively in their handsomely appointed (in some cases really palatial) city houses. More and more it is becoming the custom to live for a large part of the year on the *hacienda*. As a result, some of the country houses now being built equal in taste and charm and luxury those of North America or England. This tendency, coupled with an increasing fondness for sports and for automobiling, is one of the most hopeful signs I know of in the Andes.

There is no need for me to add anything to what I have already said incidentally regarding the middle and lower classes.

IV. THE REQUIREMENTS OF ANDEAN SOCIETY NOW AND IN THE FUTURE

Having pointed out in general terms the present racial and social characteristics of Andean society, I would like, before concluding this brief paper, to point out what seem to me to be the pressing needs of the Andean countries and their people. To my mind there is no doubt but that those countries might, under a carefully directed policy of race-appreciation, be brought to a very high level of development and might be given a place in the commerce and international politics of the world far higher than that now held by some more pretentious but really less admirable nations. A great deal will have to be done by the Andeans, however, before that position is attained.

In the first place, every precaution must be taken by them to prevent the growing up among them of that destructive and

corrosive tendency which is so strong in Europe and North America. I refer to the leveling and disruptive variety of democracy. If any of the so-called "advanced" doctrines of Bolshevism and syndicalism take root in the Andes, the danger to true and lasting progress will be tremendous. Instead of a destructive variety of democracy what the Andeans need is, first of all, a general improvement in the physique, mentality, morals, and standards of all classes. This applies especially, of course, to the lower class. To bring about such an amelioration race-appreciation must be resorted to. By that I mean just this: *Hacendados* and other persons in a responsible position should introduce new types of dwellings for the peasantry of their estates. The best way to do this would be to study the ancient architecture of the indigenes, amply represented in the designs on their pottery, and erect villages of houses made of good adobe, or still better, of concrete, patterned after the excellent ones in use before the Conquest. Cleanliness should be encouraged by every possible method, by swimming-tanks in the neighborhood of the villages, or by swimming-places in the rivers or in the sea. Good amusements should be made easily accessible, community games, dances, and singing being especially emphasized. The peculiar skill of the people in all manner of handicraft, weaving, metal-working, wood-carving, pottery, and so on, should be studied. Efforts should be made to increase agriculture, both in the direction of increased tillage and in that of new varieties of crops (such as silk, flax, and fine fruits). Any *hacendado* who studied his property and the people on it with such improvements in mind would quickly find a score of salutary changes which could easily and economically be introduced.

The responsibility which rests upon the *hacendado* class is, therefore, tremendous. On them depends the creation, both on the shore and in the highlands, of a wholesome and intelligent peasantry which alone can form the foundation for a progressive and stable society.

The middle class, also, should seek to improve itself. The general disregard of even the essentials of personal hygiene must

cease. The filth and squalor in which persons of this class who are by no means poor are content to live is not merely a disgrace, but is also an actual menace to society as a whole. Cleanliness and neatness must replace foulness and slatternliness if this class and the peasantry wish to see their country take its place among the modern-minded nations of the world.

In a word, all that the Andean countries need is a general introspective examination of the qualities both good and bad that now mark all classes. That finished, they should seek to nullify the bad by strengthening the good tendencies. The best features of each of the two great cultures represented, the indigene and the white, should be blended together to form a new fabric which shall make a suitable social and material garment for a nation with a compound population. The solid foundation required by true democracy will then have been prepared, and the people will have acquired that poise and sanity of judgment which is the surest defense against Bolshevism and kindred evils.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

LETTERS OF E. GEORGE SQUIER TO JOHN M. CLAYTON, 1849-1850

The following vigorous and spicy letters, found among the Clayton Papers in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, contribute interesting echoes of family quarrels—now happily ended—between the United States and England.

When, in 1849, the Taylor administration came into power, it found that the British government had, under one pretext or another, secured control of the parts of the Central American Isthmus which were commonly regarded as offering the best route to the recently-discovered gold fields of California. President Taylor and his Secretary of State, Clayton, quickly decided upon a stiff attitude towards British interference in Central America. They were determined to protect American interests and to prevent or break up British monopoly on the Isthmus. Accordingly, Ephraim George Squier was appointed *chargé d'affaires* to Central America and given power to make various treaties with the Central American states, including one providing for the construction of a canal across Nicaragua by an American company. The condition of affairs which Squier found upon his arrival at his post and his reaction towards it are set forth in the first two letters here presented.

A sharp change of policy came, however, the following year as a result of the death of Taylor. With the accession of Fillmore to the presidency Clayton was supplanted by Daniel Webster. Squier was recalled, and John B. Kerr was sent to Central America with the task of carrying out the terms of the nebulous Clayton-Bulwer treaty. As a result of this change in American official personnel, there soon appeared a greater leniency towards British encroachments on the Isthmus, and a growing indifference towards the claims and importunities of the Central American states. This new attitude is commented upon in the third Squier letter.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

(Private)

Leon de Nicaragua,
Sept. 12, 1840

My Dear Sir:—

You will receive herewith, by special bearer of Despatches, a mass of documents, which Heaven assist you in wading through. I have had *no time*, as an eminent somebody once said, to make them *shorter*. But I beg, in the first place, that you will not, in consequence of the prominence I have given to British intrigues and operations in these quarters, think me afflicted with *Anglo-Mania*. Far from it. Still, I must repeat that no person, not on the spot, can credit the extent and intricacy of these intrigues. What under Heaven my predecessors have been about, passes my comprehension.¹ Chatfield, the British Consul General, who has practically the whole weight of British influence in his hands, is a man of small calibre; easily excited, and more by little than great things. There is no difficulty in managing him. It is only necessary to keep him in a rage about idle expressions from Tom, Dick and Harry to divert his attention from what is going on in earnest. There are others however, who are quicker-witted, and more to be guarded against.—Now, if it is desired I feel confident that I can destroy British influence in these States, and even procure their after expulsion from this part of the continent. But I cannot do it single handed; these people are greatly taken by appearances, and a little display of power now and then will convey immense weight, and exercise an important influence in our favor. Let some portion of the Pacific Squadron “be about,” as they say of the Indians, upon the western frontier, looking in occasionally here and there. It will make a material difference in the tone of the English, and make them hesitate how they resort to unauthorized measures.—I feel quite sure that the attempt to confederate S. Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua will be successful. This will strengthen the hands of Carrera’s enemies in Guatemala, and he will go down with the English party. Guatemala will then come into the arrangement, and Costa Rica will not be able to hold out for any considerable time. The nucleus will be Nicaragua, but Salvador will furnish the *brains* and the *soul*. The people of that state will stick to Union to the last. No British agent dares venture within

¹ Before securing a foothold upon the Pacific Coast, the United States had shown but little interest in Central America. Consequently, Squier’s predecessors were few in number, and were often inefficient.

its borders.—I am not authorized to give the names of my informant, in respect to the matter of the Tigre,²—but he is in the Secrets of the English, and has the proofs of their designs in his hands. I heard myself, accidentally, the adjurations of the British Vice Consul here, that he should exercise the utmost caution, not to excite the suspicion of any one, but especially of this Legation. I shall arrange things if possible so that I *can* interfere if necessary, but shall act only *when* necessary. I know this step may seem somewhat extraordinary; but the Gulf of Fonesaca *must* be *free* or the Canal will be worthless, for it will inevitably terminate there, unless there is some insuperable natural obstacle not now apparent.—I presume you have had an interview with Mr. Hise, before this. He has done harm here, and embarrassed our relations to some extent.³—I hope to hear from you soon, and to receive [*sic*] such advice as circumstances may require. But I must repeat that it is unsafe to send by the ordinary modes of conveyance. If the Department has anything important to communicate, the *only* safe way is by special messenger.

Query? I am subjected to extraordinary expenses in passing from one state to the other: the cost of travelling is enormous, as compared to what it is at home. My Salary will not cover my necessary expenses at this rate. Should these extraordinary expenses fall upon me?—Pardon this hurried note & believe me Your Obt. Servt.,

E. GEO. SQUIER.

Hon. John M. Clayton.

² In October, 1849, Chatfield, without the permission of his government, seized the Island of Tigre, a Honduran possession which commanded the Gulf of Fonseca. His ostensible purpose was to secure a guarantee for the payment of British claims upon Honduras, but his real aim was to prevent what was regarded as the most likely terminus of the proposed isthmian canal from falling into the hands of the Americans. Squier, soon after his arrival in Central America, learned of Chatfield's designs, and tried to prevent their accomplishment. See Williams, *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy*, pp. 64-66.

³ Elijah Hise, the appointee of the Polk administration, was Squier's immediate predecessor in Central America. Fearful of British designs, he, without the consent of his government, made a canal treaty with Nicaragua which contained a clause pledging the United States to protect Nicaragua in all territory rightfully hers.

(Private)

Leon de Nicaragua,
May 8, 1850.

My Dear Sir,

I am still without advices from you, or indeed from the U. S. except a straggling newspaper of the 15th. of March, and am consequently entirely in the dark as to what has transpired in relation to affairs here. The Gov. is equally bad off, having heard nothing from their eminent agent in the U. S. since Dec. The country feels great anxiety and is somewhat feverish, respecting the Treaty and its ratification. The seeming inactivity of the Canal Company⁴ does not add to their confidence or give encouragement. In fact I suspect that certain members of that Company are fitted for little beyond talking, and that they exercise this faculty to an unnecessary and injurious extent. The letters from Mr. Joseph L. White and his brother lately here, and which were exhibited to all the officers of the state and the leading citizens in a most ostentatious manner, were past all precedent egotistical, and calculated to leave the impression that the individual above named was charged with the *entire* business of arranging affairs with Sir Henry Bulwer, and that the U. S. Govt. was a simple machine to register and execute his high decisions. "I stipulated this," and "I did that" are the burthen of every sentence. Mr. White is unquestionably what the Yankees term a "smart" man, but a most inveterate, indiscriminating, and indiscreet talker. He will eventually shake, if he has not already shaken, the confidence of the public in the company, in which he affects to take so prominent a part. The General-in-Chief of the State, and other leading men have openly expressed to me their disgust at the manner of writing which he practices.—In making these observations I need not say that they are dictated by no personal considerations, for Mr. White is nothing to me one way or another. I am anxious

⁴ The Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Company was chartered in 1849 by the government of Nicaragua. Cornelius Vanderbilt, Joseph L. White, and Nathaniel J. Wolfe were the organizers. An attempt made by Vanderbilt to secure financial aid for the project from British capitalists failed, and new surveys of Lake Nicaragua seemed to indicate that there was insufficient water in the lake to make feasible the construction of the canal, as planned. Consequently, in 1850, the project was abandoned. But later Vanderbilt and his associates formed the Accessory Transit Company, which in the gold-rush days carried passengers across the Isthmus. See Scroggs, *Filibusters and Financiers*, p. 79.

that the contemplated great work shall succeed, and do not like to have its prospects impaired by the folly of an individual.⁵

The Company may as well understand one thing before they go further, and that is the necessity of in some way relieving the State from some of its embarrassments. Its revenues [?] since San Juan was seized⁶ do not pay necessary and current expenses, and the Govt. is at this moment absolutely sustained by private, voluntary contributions, made under the hopes of better days near at hand, founded on the proposed work. Unless some aid is rendered, the country will be kept in constant agitation and disorder by British reclamations,—paltry British debts will be made the pretext for obstructing an enterprise which cannot well be openly opposed. Two hundred thousand dollars would do this, for which the Comp. can find ample security in their own enterprise. But my faith in the *faith* or determination of the Co. is somewhat shaken by the fact that they have not sent out, nor so far as I can learn, have made any arrangements to send out engineers for the preliminary survey,—and until this is done all further talk or speculation is useless, and worse than useless.

Apodos: I have been over the country between the Estero Real and the Lake of Managua; distance not over 20 miles; country everything that can be desired. The canal, if it is ever built, will pass here. I will stake my judgment upon the issue.

The Legislative Chambers of this State have also ratified the Articles of Union. It only remains for Honduras to act, and there can be no doubt as to her proceedings. You may therefore regard it as settled that the New Confederation will go into operation. And this will bring up a question as to what relations are to be extended to it; a point upon which I wish I could have with you a full conversation, and upon which it will be necessary to have instructions. You may however rest assured that, if it is within the power of Mr. Chatfield and his associates the Serviles, to prevent the Union, no means will be spared to accomplish it. The revolution in Honduras was got up for this end, and its failure is a mortifying blow to all those in the British and oligarchical interest.⁷

⁵ This analysis of White's character does not appear to be far from correct.

⁶ On January 1, 1848, under the fiction of protecting the "Kingdom of the Mosquitos," the British government seized the Nicaraguan port of San Juan. This was at the mouth of the San Juan River, the outlet of Lake Nicaragua, and was regarded as the most likely eastern terminus of the isthmian canal.

⁷ The charges made by Squier against the British agents in Central America are in harmony with the facts.

And this reminds me to say that I have recently received privately from the President of San Salvador, copies of letters from Mr. Pavon, one of the heads of the Serviles, companion, toady and Secretary of Mr. Chatfield, and written under the express direction and sanction of the latter, in which instructions are given to the leaders in the attempted revolution. They are warned to combat the seductive *American principles* which, the writer laments, are taking deep root in the country, and to be vigorous in their Measures. After Honduras is revolutionized, the forces of that state are to assist in putting down the liberals of Guatemala; after which (it is significantly added), they can *take care* of San Salvador and Nicaragua. The presence of the British admiral it is observed will have a good effect, for he will effectually prevent San Salvador and Nicaragua from aiding the Constituted authorities of Honduras against Gen. Guardiola and the rebels!! The whole affair was concocted in Costa Rica, and is one only, of a hundred similar proceedings in which the British agents have been more or less implicated. Would you believe it possible that the man above mentioned had the audacity to write to the Bishop of this State, in Feb. last, from Costa Rica, that the Govt. of the U. S. had sent a Special Messenger to that state, to inform the Govt. that my conduct was wholly disapproved, and that I was to be recalled in two months—that grace being allowed me to spare my feelings! The sole object of this was to sow disconfidence in the U. S. here. *Such* are the miserable shifts to which resort is had by the English agents; shifts which no one not on the spot could be induced to believe possible any set of men could descend to.

For a full statement of the recent troubles at San Juan I beg to refer you to my Doc. No. 31. New proceedings there have aroused the deepest indignation, and rendered the people doubly anxious to know what has been the result of the negotiations in the U. S. respecting the port.

All of my companions are confirmed invalids, and I have no one to assist me in my labors, which among other things makes me wish to hear from my application for leave of absence. In case I get no news this month, I think of going down to San Juan next, & may be tempted to “slip off,” in case I find no advices there by the first of July. I could give you a better conception of matters here in one hour’s conversation than by writing a month.

Pardon this long and jumbled and I fear too-familiar letter, and believe me

Your Obt. Sevt.

E. GEO. SQUIER.

Hon. John M. Clayton.

P.S. I open this to add that about 40 Americans have arrived here on their return from California, and about 100 more on their way to that land of promise. The latter are loud and unanimous in their complaints respecting affairs at San Juan. Something, I repeat, must be done there, or we shall have a beautiful assortment of troubles on our hands within the next six months.—The passengers from California represent Com. Jones and nearly his whole fleet are chosen [?] in San Francisco—God knows for what purpose. The passengers say for *speculation*. It strikes me that when supplies are so enormously high at that point, it would be good economy to send a few elsewhere,—to say nothing of the public interest.

Yrs. &c.

S.

Private and Confidential

New York, Sept. 2, 1850.

My Dear Sir—

I returned yesterday from Washington, which place I visited for the purpose of reporting myself to Mr. Webster, and of finding out what was doing with the Nicaraguan Treaties, concerning the fate of which the Nicaraguans are much alarmed. You can imagine my astonishment on hearing Mr. Webster speak not only slightly, but contemptuously of all that has been done in Central America. He said he could not discover why we should trouble ourselves about “those insignificant countries, or go through the farce of treating with them at all.” I urged the vast resources of the country, the importance of the present and prospective trade with Oregon and California,—in short touched upon the various points with which you are so familiar. To all of this however, there was but one reply; that when this importance became manifest, and stable governments were established, it would be time enough to pay attention to them.

The result of my interview was a very clear impression upon my own mind that Mr. Webster is jealous of the fame acquired by Gen. Taylor’s administration, in the conduct of our foreign relations, and if he does not attempt to undervalue what that administration accomplished, at least to prevent the various matters which it left in train from coming to a favorable issue. He is bending every effort toward securing the Whig nomination for the Next Presidency; and to this

end he is not blind to the importance of preventing you from occupying too a favorable a position before the country.⁸

At the request of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I attended at one of their meetings, where letters were produced from Mr. Bulwer to Mr. Webster containing the very ideas, and in parts the very language made use of by Mr. W. in my interview with him—showing clearly that he has the ear of the Sect. Mr. Bulwer insists on the most sweeping modifications of my treaty, and assures Mr. Webster that you promised an infinity of things in respect to it, and amongst others that there should not be any thing suffered to remain in it implying a denial of the *actuality* of British protection on the Mosquito Shore! He says that the treaty negotiated between yourself and him “was intended in *no way to affect* the Mosquito question, which was” (I use his precise words,) “left *entirely out of view*, and in its original state!” He objects to the recognition of the right of Nicaragua to the line of the Canal, on the ground that it brings up the Mosquito pretensions, with which he pretends it was understood with you, the U. S. was in no way to meddle.⁹—There were also some personal reflections in the letter both on you and myself, which the Chairman of the Committee declined reading, but which he characterized as disgraceful and unbecoming the dignity of a foreign Minister, and which I do not conceive [*sic*] will be apt to promote the object which the sharp intrigant has in view. He is omitting no effort to carry his points, and by modifications of the treaty, and admissions of the Sect. regain the positions which, in the opinion of all fair minded men, he lost in his negotiations with you.

I deemed it my duty to inform you of these facts, although it is probable your Washington Correspondents have kept you advised of what is going on. I am convinced that the whole of the movement in Central America will come to a most “lame and impotent conclusion” unless the Senate put an estopper on the cockney diplomatist. We see the Portuguese “back out,” and we shall have another in this matter. Mr. Webster is profoundly ignorant of the events of the case,

⁸ Though Webster was doubtless influenced by his desire for the Presidential nomination, he appears to have been, on the whole, honest in the moderate attitude which he took towards the Central American question.

⁹ Bulwer was quite consistent in his interpretation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, and in his insistence that it did not affect the British protectorate over the Mosquito Indians. See Williams, *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy*, p. 108.

and too indolent to investigate it. Besides, his hostility to you personally will, as I have already said, rather lead him to wish an unfavorable issue, for the double reason that success could only augment your reputation, while failure would injure it, without, according to his notion, in any way reflecting unfavorably on him.

You will pardon the freedom with which I write to you, and the liberty which I have taken in reflecting upon the conduct of others. Rest assured I should not have done so except upon the strongest reasons. I cannot too strongly put you on your guard against the duplicity of Bulwer and the hostility of Webster.

I wrote you some time ago requesting the facts relative to your first connection with the Canal project, with a view to their incorporation in a paper which I am preparing on the subject for the American Review, but have received no answer. Should you feel disposed to furnish me with these, it is still not too late for my purpose.

In conclusion, I can only repeat what I have before said, that if I can hereafter be of any service to you, my energies are at your disposal. Meantime I remain as heretofore,

Your much obliged and Obt. Sv't.,

E. GEO. SQUIER.

Hon. John M. Clayton.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New. By ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, Professor of History in Harvard University. 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1918. Pp. xxviii, 529; xv, 387. \$7.50.)

This is a work by a man of recognized standing in the American historical profession, putting forth his best efforts, in his chosen field. The most rigid standards of criticism should therefore be applied. But it may be said at the outset that Professor Merriman's volumes survive the test: indeed, it is not too much to say that they are a monument to American scholarship, and are easily the best work that has appeared in English, in recent years, in the field of Spanish history.

Professor Merriman "aims to show the continuity of the story of the reconquest of Spain from the Moors and of the conquest of her vast dominions beyond the seas". In other words, this is a history of expansion, of empire in the present-day sense of the word "imperialism". "To most Americans", says Professor Merriman, "the principal interest of the subject [the history of Spain] will inevitably centre around Spain's activities as a great conquering and colonizing power; for the increased importance of the countries of Iberian origin has been perhaps the most remarkable political and economic fact in the recent development of the Western Hemisphere" (I. vii). This statement and the very title of the book lead one to expect an interpretation of Spanish imperialism from the American point of view, involving an allotment of perhaps the major part of the space to the Castilian-conquered New World. The expectation is not realized, however. Professor Merriman distinctly looks beyond the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean to Europe, rather than westward across the Atlantic.

This stands forth clearly in the proportions of the two volumes thus far published. Volume I. is entitled *The Middle Ages*, and is subdivided into Book I. on "Castile" and Book II. on "The Realms of the Crown of Aragon". An introductory chapter carries the general history of Spain to 711, and goes on to deal briefly with the Moslem kingdoms to 1257. Thereafter, there are eleven chapters (of greatly unequal length) of which two are concerned with the narrative of

Castilian conquest in Spain, one with early Castilian interest in the Canaries and the embassy to Tamerlane, four with the narrative of Aragonese conquest (almost wholly beyond the peninsula, in the Mediterranean), and two each with the institutions (mainly political) of Castile and Aragon. Volume II. is entitled *The Catholic Kings*, and is subdivided in turn into Book III., "Union", and Book IV., "Expansion". Of the nine chapters, dealing now with the united kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, seven are narrative, with three of the longest referring almost exclusively to the European projects of John II. of Aragon and Ferdinand the Catholic. The internal pacification of the two kingdoms and the conquest of Granada, and conquests, respectively, in the Canaries, the Indies, and North Africa make up the other four narrative chapters, while the two on institutions are devoted chiefly to political conditions in Castile. The chapter on the Indies (in forty-eight pages), the only one in the book concerning the Americas, is a conventional account, admirably presented, of the discovery of Columbus, the explorations and settlements of his successors, and brief comment on the economic and political relations of Spain and her colonies and on Spanish treatment of the Indians.

In a history with a more distinct leaning toward the Americas the chapter and a half (some forty pages) on the conquest of the Canaries would occasion no surprise, but where only slightly more space is given to the Indies themselves in the era of the Catholic Kings the prominence of the former is decidedly noticeable, although these chapters are intensely interesting. Similarly, even in a history of empire, one might object to the space and amount of detail accorded to such matters as the embassy to Tamerlane and the spectacular tale of the Catalan Grand Company. On the other hand, those events have been slighted by other historians, and the account of them here is fascinating. In referring to the career of Aragon in the Mediterranean Professor Merriman says: "This remarkable story of territorial expansion deserves the most prominent place in the mediaeval portion of any history of the Spanish Empire" (I. 311). Such a place, surely, it has received in the author's work. Many, however, will question the exclusive validity of Professor Merriman's interpretation. Not a few would prefer a greater emphasis on the social, economic, and intellectual life, as well as the political institutions, of Moslem Spain and Christian Castile, on the ground that the gift of Spanish civilization was the greatest result of Spain's empire. Certainly, those who are more strictly Americanists would choose to have that side brought out.

One wonders, indeed, if Professor Merriman fully grasps the significance of Spanish conquest in the New World. For example, is it necessary to insist on the "failings as a ruler of men" (II. 223) of Christopher Columbus? Setting out with the super-optimistic hopes so characteristic of the age, believing that he would find riches and adventure such as would make the fabled experiences of Amadis de Gaula pale into insignificance in comparison, he encountered the incalculable difficulties of holding a new country. Hundreds of able men after his time, with a better understanding of conditions than it was possible for him to have, were to meet with no greater success. Again, the author appears to believe that the acquisition of the Americas by Spain injured her future in Europe, although he admits "it was the Indies that account for her greatness" (II. 236). Others would be inclined to say that it was the attempt at European empire which upset Spain, holding that she might have banished herself from Europe, much as England did, and made the colonies the basis of her permanence and greatness. In fine, Professor Merriman's point of view resembles that of his historical forefathers, William Robertson and Prescott, regarding empire as a matter of diplomacy and military conquest, concerned with the deeds of personages of the realm rather than the life of the people, though on the score of political institutions the author is abreast of the new school as to the content of history.

Professor Merriman plans to complete his work in two more volumes (*The Emperor* and *Philip the Prudent*, according to the publisher's announcement), carrying the story to 1598. To be sure, the greater part of the effective occupation of the Americas took place after 1598, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as is being amply proved by the students in the Bolton school of American history. It is true, however, that the close of the sixteenth century marked the beginning of the "decline and fall" of the Spanish Empire, and the author is within his rights in choosing to leave that tale to others.

There is no special sanctity in a given interpretation of a nation's history, and Professor Merriman has as much right to his as others to theirs. Accepting, then, his point of view, the reviewer wishes to emphasize the many merits of his work. Everything the author has touched he has handled exceedingly well. Taken as a whole, the two volumes at hand are the best in print on the beginnings of the Spanish Empire in Europe, and are a valuable background for the story of the conquests in the New World. They show, better than any other work has done, the complication of interests in the "loose-jointed,

heterogeneous empire", pulling Spain in more ways than she could go. Taken in detail there is much incidental contribution, such for example as the narrative accounts of Spanish conquests in the Canaries, North Africa, the islands of the Mediterranean, Italy, and Greece (involving some consideration of the Spanish methods of governing these dependencies), of the embassy to Tamerlane, the relations of Castile and Portugal (with an illuminating discussion of their possibilities and actual consequences), the imperial importance of the work of John II. of Aragon and Ferdinand the Catholic, and the treatment of such institutions as the *Consejo Real*, the *Cortes*, finances, the *Hermandad* of 1468, the *residencia*, and especially the *corregidor*. Generally speaking, the material is not new, but much of it appears in English, in a history of Spain, for the first time, and it is given in such a remarkably logical and pleasing form as to be a contribution from the standpoint of organization and presentation.

Professor Merriman never forgets that he is writing a history of expansion, and this is just as clear when, for example, he is dealing with the *corregidores* of Castile as it is when he is discussing the Spanish conquests in Italy. The book grows logically out of the Introduction. There the author emphasizes the fact that Spain's natural boundaries have not been barriers, and then proceeds to show the close connection of Spain in the pre-Moslem period with the outside world. The same sense of form appears in each chapter and even in each paragraph. Indeed, the whole book is so carefully thought out that the labor of the reader is reduced to a minimum, and chapters of fifty and sixty pages are quickly and easily covered. Lecturers on Spanish history will often be tempted to take Professor Merriman's chapters just as they stand.

On the score of his materials Professor Merriman says: "The first two volumes . . . are almost exclusively based on printed sources and standard secondary works" (I. viii). This course he justifies on the score of the vastness of the field to be covered and of the fact that much documentary material exists in print which is almost unknown, except to Spanish scholars. Much use of unpublished manuscripts is promised for the two later volumes. Professor Merriman intimates that he will not provide his completed work with a formal bibliography, holding that a "mere list of titles" without "some indication of their merits, defects, and relative importance" is "a rather specious credential of erudition" (I. ix). The reviewer believes there is considerable value in a well-arranged, clearly-presented list, and

hopes that the author will eventually decide to make one. Nevertheless, important bibliographical material appears.

Following the Introduction, there is a "Note on the General Authorities on Spanish History", and the Introduction itself, and each chapter thereafter, has a "Bibliographical Note", divided between "Contemporary Authorities" and "Later Works". The "General Authorities" include bibliographies, general collections of sources, general histories of Spain, and periodicals. Items are lumped together in paragraphs, and therefore do not stand out to the eye, but the critical comments and the list (though brief) are, taken together, the most illuminating general bibliography of Spanish history that has ever appeared in English. The separate chapters are based, in most cases, on a few printed works, but of such a kind that they apply in the chapter where they are employed and nowhere else. This is clearly the result of a careful selection of what is best for the matter in hand, for the author shows in his critical comments that he is thoroughly familiar with works which he has used only incidentally. The sum total of sources for all the chapters is great in number and of broad range. Furthermore, in the chapters dealing with Mediterranean expansion and the diplomatic intrigues of John II. of Aragon and Ferdinand the Catholic, a field in which the author is at his best, a wide variety of materials is used. Criticism must be made, however, of the form of entry employed by the author. In the matter of capitalization his style is chaotic. It is consistent only in that nouns and adjectives are capitalized in Latin, German, and English titles, are not capitalized in French titles, and sometimes are and sometimes are not in Spanish titles.

No writer can expect to avoid making mistakes. Yet, on the side of error in statements of fact there is very little to criticize in Professor Merriman's two volumes. It is a bit overdrawn to say that "When the Visigoths arrived in Spain . . . they brought with them all their barbarian customs" (I. 236). Even in their law, which the author was then discussing, they had already been modified to some extent by contact with Rome. Objection may be made to such generalizations as the following: "The mediaeval history of Spain is first and foremost the history of a crusade. For nearly eight centuries the Christians of the North devoted themselves to the task of expelling the Moors from the peninsula . . . From the cave of Covadonga to the annexation of Portugal and her dominions in 1580 . . . the process of expansion is continuous" (I. 53). In fact, the reconquest was very far from being continuous, and it rarely partook of the character of a

crusade. The author's own account, when taken in detail, is a convincing refutation of his more general statement. The reviewer doubts whether "The long centuries of colonial administration have been less thoroughly explored" (I. vii) than the recent periods of the Spanish American revolt from Spain and national independence. Surely it is a mistake to say that there was "almost no natural or geographical reason" (I. 75) for the political separation of Portugal from Spain. Cf. Charles de Lannoy, *L'Expansion Coloniale du Portugal* (in Charles de Lannoy and Herman Vander Linden, *Histoire de l'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens . . . Portugal et Espagne*) pp. 1-5. The author takes the traditional view—rather accentuating it—of the "lamentable inefficiency" of Alfonso X, "the Scholar King". The important work of that monarch in the battle of absolutism against baronial anarchy might well have received some emphasis. We are informed that the accession of Ferdinand of Antequera to the Aragonese throne in 1412 was a great event, without which the "work of the Catholic Kings would in all probability have never been done" (I. 119). This is not explained, and seems a little strange when we are told on the same page that "The marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile in 1469 did not come as the inevitable sequel and logical climax of a long series of antecedents", but "rather as a divergence from the normal trend of the development of both nations" (I. 119).

In addition to what has been said in dealing with the bibliography, some criticisms may be made on the technical side of Professor Merriam's work. It is difficult to determine the author's rule of italicization. Ordinarily, Spanish institutional terms (e.g., *caballero*) are given in italics when first used and in romans thereafter. Some, however (e.g., the *alcabala* and other taxes, *adelantado*, *ricos hombres*), are consistently in italics, and others which in the main follow the first-named practice will occasionally reappear in italics (e.g., *corregidores* on pages 195 and 233 of volume one). A more distressing characteristic is the author's confused methods in the use of accents in Spanish words. Since he prefers to anglicize words whenever possible, there can be no quarrel with him if he does not use accents in Spanish words of very familiar usage in English (e.g., "Leon" and "Cadiz"). But since he many times uses accents in less well-known words which retain their Spanish form, one wonders why at other times he omits them. Why should "Fernández", "Jerónimo", and "Giménez" be accented, and "Hernández", "Gerónimo", and "Ximénez" not? On

what ground should "Ramón Bonifacio" get an accent, while "Ramón Berenguer", Ramón Lull", and "Ramón Moncada" do not? Why should "González" be accented on page 204, and fail to receive an accent elsewhere? Why not an accent on "desafío" and "señorío?" Why an accent at all on "Cangas"? Scores of other instances might be cited. In addition some minor typographical errors were not caught in proof (I. 21 n. 2, 67 n. 1, 68, 187, 251, n. 4, 258, 261, 262, 287. Not noted for v. II.). All of these matters, however, are minor in character as affecting the value of the book, and they can easily be changed in a second edition.

A number of excellent maps illustrate the wide-reaching text, and a good index is provided at the end of volume two. The book is the last word in the printer's art. Broad margins, generous spacing, and large-sized type join with the excellent English style of the author to make the volumes a pleasure to read. Decidedly, in the opinion of this reviewer, Professor Merriman's work is an important and welcome addition to the literature of Spanish history.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

The Five Republics of Central America: Their political and economic development and their relations with the United States. By DANA G. MUNRO. [Printed . . . for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, of Washington, D. C.] (New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1918. Pp. xviii, 332. \$3.50.)

This is one of the many useful books that have been, or in the future will be, published by the Carnegie Endowment with the general purpose of fostering closer interest and sympathy between the United States and the Hispanic American countries. In his preface the author explains the difficulties which confront the investigator into the history of Central America, of which the chief are the paucity of sources, either primary or secondary, and the unreliability of many of those which exist. In writing an account of the development of the Central American countries, one must decide whether he will deal with the countries all together or with each separately. In either case adequate treatment is impossible without considerable duplication and repetition. In some of his chapters Mr. Munro has followed one method and in others, the other.

In the first, on "The Country and the People" he studies the facts more or less common to all of the countries concerning topography, climate, products, industries, commerce, racial mixtures, social and

economic conditions, education, and moral standards. The second chapter, on "Central American Political Institutions", also studies the countries together. It is a presentation of the facts common to all or several of them in their historical and political development. After reviewing briefly the establishment of independence he depicts the early indecision concerning the question of union with México or complete independence, showing the circumstances which decided for the latter. Then the conflict between the centralistic and federalistic tendencies is reviewed. After the formation of the confederation the forces which weakened it during the decade and a half of its precarious and fitful existence and caused its decline and ultimate dissolution are portrayed. After this review of the defeat of the Liberals with their unionist tendencies in the decade of the thirties, he studies the triumph of the Conservatives and their policy of local independence for about the next quarter of a century, which was followed by the liberal revolutions in the seventies and by abortive attempts to revive the union during the rest of the century. The characteristic features of Central American political institutions and practices are ably and impartially presented.

After these two general studies the writer devotes one full chapter to each of the five countries setting forth its individual characteristics, and showing its points of similarity and contrast with the others. Many of the same topics enumerated above as being discussed in the first chapter are again and again reviewed, but with reference to the individual country under consideration each time. Mr. Munro has succeeded better than any other author known to the present reviewer in making each of the Central American republics stand out as an individual, distinct from its neighbors.

With the eighth chapter, "The Establishment of a Central American Confederation", he returns to the general treatment, as the subject requires, tracing from the completion of the independence movement to the date of the publication of his book this most interesting thread of events in the history of the region, showing that the need of union has always been recognized, that the desire for it has always existed, and that repeated attempts have been made to realize it, but showing also why they have always resulted in failure or only ephemeral unions. The reader is left with little hope that this great desideratum will be attained in the near future. "The Causes of Central American Revolutions" is the subject of the next chapter.

The tenth chapter ably and appreciably explains the occasion for, the proceedings of, and the salutary results of, "The Washington Conference of 1907", which the writer says marks an epoch of the greatest significance in the development of Central America, since it practically ended the baneful influence, hitherto so frequently exercised, by one or more states on the internal political affairs of others and terminated the recurrent international conflicts thus engendered. In the eleventh chapter, on "The Intervention of the United States in Nicaragua", the author gives a lucid discussion of the intolerable political conditions and the circumstances which led to the intervention in 1909 and to the establishment of a virtual, though not a nominal, protectorate. He then studies the serious difficulties which the intervention brought about, involving the interests of foreign investors in Nicaragua, jeopardizing the independence and sovereignty if not the very separate existence of Nicaragua and possibly of other states, incurring the suspicion and hostility of the other republics of Central America and even of all Hispanic America, and making it next to impossible for the United States to convince Nicaraguans, Hispanic Americans, or the rest of the world, that its motives were disinterested and its tenure intended to be temporary, especially since it has been considered essential for the United States to maintain by force or by threats governments in power in Nicaragua which have not had and apparently cannot hope to obtain the support of a majority of the people.

The subject of the twelfth chapter is "Commerce". Considered from the standpoint of foreign trade, the most important product of these countries is coffee, which is produced in the uplands and mountain valleys and in the production of which natives almost alone are interested as proprietors, promoters, and laborers. The second most important article is bananas, the production of which is as exclusively foreign as that of coffee is native, which gives rise to the popular notion that the production of this very useful food absorbs most if not all the economic activities of the countries, whereas the industry is of comparatively little interest from the native standpoint. The third class of exports in order of importance is produced by the mines, which for several decades were the chief source of Spain's apparently inexhaustible supply of the precious metals in the early colonial period. Owing to the decline of Spanish activity during the last century of her colonial tenure and to the constant revolutionary turmoil and destruction of property during the century since independence the mines have not been extensively worked until recently when the prevalence of order has re-

vived an interest in this which one day may again become the chief industry. There are many other exports of considerable value in the world markets, but none of them approach these three in importance. Manufactured articles from Europe and the United States constitute the imports received in exchange for these exports, the lion's share having been supplied by the United States even before the World War. The concluding chapter studies "Central American Public Finance".

Both the scholarship of the author and the mechanical make up of his book are such as to leave little to be desired and no defects serious enough to deserve much adverse criticism. The citation of authorities is not as frequent as is usually expected in a work of this kind; but that is doubtless due to the character of the authorities, mentioned above, and to the fact that much of the author's information has been gleaned by himself in those countries. The bibliography at the close of the volume gives a good, and surprisingly long, list of what are called "the more important historical and descriptive material dealing with Central America". It should be added that many of them have been seldom, if at all, cited in the body of the book.

WILLIAM R. MANNING.

Santo Domingo: a Country with a Future. By OTTO SCHOENRICH. (New York: Macmillan, 1918. Pp. 418. Illus. and map. \$3.00.)

This book is distinctly the most comprehensive work upon the Dominican Republic that has, so far appeared in English, and it is a welcome addition to the meagre literature upon the subject. The author was unusually well-fitted for his task, for he had had many years of experience in connection with other Hispanic-American lands as well as in Santo Domingo, during which he helped them solve various public problems. He was therefore, qualified not only to gather and present the facts regarding the Dominican Republic itself, but—what is of greater importance—was equipped with an understanding of, and a sympathetic attitude towards, the Hispanic-American viewpoint, the lack of which on the part of the author has discounted the value of many a book treating of our neighbors to the south.

It was not the author's primary aim, however, to give an interpretation of Santo Domingo, but rather to present a bird's eye view of the land as it is—or was in the immediate past. In preparation for this general survey, he first devotes several chapters to a sketch of Dominican history from 1492 to 1918. Much of this part of the book is merely

the account of a nation reeling back upon itself instead of advancing; it is a monotonous and somewhat confusing recital of dreary revolutions. But far be it from the reviewer to assert that it would be possible, particularly in a brief sketch, to present a more comprehensible and interesting narrative, or a more analytical one, of the welter of events which made up Santo Domingo's history for more than three centuries. Closely related to the historical sketch is a chapter describing the attempt to find and identify the remains of Columbus. Of more interest to the general reader, however, are the several chapters devoted to the Dominican Republic of modern times. These treat of area and boundaries, topography and climate, geology and minerals, the population, religion, education, and literature, means of transportation and communication, commerce, cities, and towns, government, politics and revolutions, law and justice, the Dominican debt and the fiscal treaty with United States, finances, and the future of Santo Domingo.

After reading the book, one cannot but be impressed with the many characteristics and conditions which the island republic possesses in common with many of the other Hispanic states in the New World, placed in quite different environments. Obviously, this similarity is largely due to a common history during Spanish rule. In this Caribbean republic, for instance, the reader learns that though the whole population is nominally Roman Catholic, the devotion to the church is largely restricted to the women of the better educated class, while the men of the same rank are frequently free-thinkers. Likewise, though the women, as a whole, lead pure and virtuous lives, the morals of the men are, to express it mildly, rather shady. In this tropical island, the color line is very dim, where it exists at all, as is illustrated by the fact that at a Dominican state ball it was possible for a visiting gentleman from Virginia to mistake the dusky secretary of foreign affairs for a colored waiter, and to turn to him for cooling refreshments as an aid in recovering from the shock of seeing a white girl dancing with a black man. Yet, regardless of color, here, as elsewhere in the Hispanic part of the New World, all people of education are in the habit of looking upon themselves as Latins, and of thinking Romanically. Finally Santo Domingo is a land where—until very recently—politics and revolutions went hand in hand and the best equipment for the aspirant to political honors or spoils was a gun with a sure aim; where the supreme law of the land was the wishes of the dictator who happened to control the government. And yet the most high-handed of

such men managed to rule constitutionally, through the simple device of ordering the constitution changed to harmonize with their political aims.

As the author points out, though Santo Domingo has had a past, characterized by maladministration and graft, and is certain to have a future, it can scarcely be said to have a present; for changes are taking place so rapidly as to make it impossible to say that things are thus and so at a given moment. A new era is being created for the Dominican people through the influence of the United States. To save the republic from destruction at the hands of European creditors, in 1905, the United States government took charge of Dominican finances; and two years later a fiscal treaty was entered into by the two countries which sealed and defined the earlier arrangement. American control produced a radical change for the better; commerce and industry greatly increased, and prosperity came to the previously bankrupt land. It had been hoped when the convention of 1907 was entered into that United States' possession of the Dominican customs houses would discourage revolutions and insure political stability, but, though the arrangement improved governmental conditions, it soon became evident that political adventurers could secure money by other means; and revolutions continued. The combination of revolutionary disorder and United States fiscal control finally produced a deadlock which was broken by the Washington government late in 1916 by means of military occupation. The United States is still in control in Santo Domingo, and is introducing reforms similar to those characterizing her occupation of Cuba. When the American military forces are ready to withdraw, the author believes, Santo Domingo will either be annexed to the United States or will be placed upon a clearly defined basis as a protectorate of the American Union. The former arrangement, he thinks, will be more to the interest of the Dominican people; the latter, to that of the United States. But whatever may be the future political status of Santo Domingo, there seems no doubt that coming years have much of good in store for this land so rich in natural resources and possessed of a population the large majority of whom are law-abiding and anxious only for the chance to "make good" among the nations of the earth.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE CATHEDRAL OF OLD PANAMA¹

Santa María la Antigua del Darién was the first village which, in 1510, was founded on the American continent by the Spanish explorers under the command of Bachiller Martín Fernandez de Enciso, at the instance of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. In fulfilment of a vow which they had taken before facing the fierce Indians of this region, they built a chapel which they dedicated to the miraculous virgin Santa María la Antigua, of Seville.

This chapel, raised to the rank of a cathedral in 1513 at the request of the Catholic monarchs, King Fernando and Queen Juana, and by virtue of a Brief from Pope Leo,² was the origin of the Episcopal See of Panamá, whose first bishop, a reverend Franciscan friar, Juan de Quevedo, arrived on the shores of the Isthmus on July 30, 1514, in company with Pedro Arias de Avila.

In accordance with the Pope's Brief, Friar Vicente Peraza of the order of Santo Domingo, second Bishop of Darién, instituted the dignitaries, canons, and other religious rites of this church, through a public document dated in Burgos, December 1, 1521.

As soon as the Licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa and the new governor of Castilla del Oro had founded the city of Panamá, August 19, 1519,

¹ The author of this interesting description of the Cathedral of old Panama, the Hon. Samuel Lewis, was formerly Secretary of Foreign Relations in Panama. So far as known, this is the only historical description of the cathedral in English that has been worked up from the old, original sources. Those who have had the good fortune to see the ruins of the old edifice so ruthlessly destroyed, can easily picture the magnificence that it must have had before Morgan's visit.—Ed.

² Leo, Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, ad perpetuam Rei memoriam, etc.; Dattis Romae anno MDXIII, Autoritate Appostolica, tenore pressentum, oppidum sive pagum Beatæ Mariæ de las Antigua, in dicta Provintia Baetica, in quo etiam quaedam capella sub eodem vocabulo est constructa et aliqui fidelis morantur, Civitates titulo insignimus, ibique in Civitate et Capella premisses, Cathedralẽ Eclessiam sub ejusdem Beatæ Mariæ de la Antigua invocatione, pro uno Episcopo qui in dicta Eclessia et illius civitate et Diocessi verbum Dei predicet; etc."

on the shores of the southern sea, the city was quickly populated, much to the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants of Santa María la Antigua del Darién. Toward the end of the year 1524, the Episcopal See was transferred to Panamá. Its bishop at that time was the same father already mentioned, Vicente de Peraza, who died soon afterwards. According to the records of that period, the holy father was poisoned by Pedro Arias de Avila, following a violent dispute which they had had, during the course of which the prelate, without reticence or circumlocution, expressed his poor opinion of the Governor.

In the year 1527, after the death of Friar Vicente de Peraza, Friar Martín de Bejar was offered as a candidate for the bishopric of Darién, and in 1530 he was succeeded by a friar of the order of Santo Domingo, who was living in Panamá, Father Tomás de Berlanga.

It fell to the lot of this prelate, as the fourth Bishop of Darién and the second Bishop of Panamá, to choose the site for the cathedral of the Panamanian diocese. The place chosen was the promontory which is found within the limits of the old city of Panamá, to the north-east of the large rock on which were built the Royal Houses and to the east of the principal plaza, precisely in the same spot where are found today the ruins of the great church which served as the only parish for the inhabitants of this city. Here a church of wooden structure, with thatched roof, was erected provisionally.

In 1535, an architect by the name of Antón García arrived in Panamá, entrusted with the work of constructing a cathedral. When finished, this building was 165 feet in length, and was divided into three wide naves, the center nave being 30 feet wide, and the one on each side being 15 feet wide. On the south was the principal chapel 30 feet square. In addition to the principal chapel, there were four others, that of the Passion, that of our Lady of the "O", that of our Lady of the Conception, and that of All Souls. The choir was on the same floor as the church. On the east was found the baptismal font and the organ was on the west. The tower and the quarters of the dignitaries of the church occupied the southern side. This entire edifice was of wood.

Despite the religious devotion of the natives and colonists, and the fabulous riches which for a long period of time passed through Panamá from Perú en route to Spain, sowing seeds of wealth and prosperity in Castilla del Oro, this church continued for a long time as a wooden structure of humble proportions, as when first built. It seems that the clergy of that period were much more occupied with their temporal than with their spiritual welfare.

The destructive influences of the climate, however, were gradually making themselves felt, and finally on May 6, 1580, upon investigation it became obvious that the church should be rebuilt of stone. Nevertheless, the old church continued until 1619, when its condition became so bad that in order to keep the building from falling down it was necessary to re-enforce it with twenty props. Moreover, the roof of the edifice was in such bad repair that the rain entered freely, the nave of the church was converted into an immense pool, and the decomposition of the bodies buried beneath its floor became so noticeable that the worshipers, fearful of the risk of disease, no longer dared to congregate within its walls.

For this reason, the work of tearing down the old church and the building of a new cathedral was begun. The foundations of the church were to be of stone and mortar. This part of the work was begun with \$2,000, collected in alms by Francisco de la Cámara, of the Order of Santo Domingo, who was at that time Bishop of the Panamanian See. The work was further advanced by a donation of \$10,000 for holy purposes, made by a pious citizen. With true religious zeal, worthy of the highest praise, all the faithful followers of this religion joined hands in the construction of the new cathedral, inspired by the venerable bishop, who assisted personally in hauling beams to be used for the new building.

So rapid was the progress that an earthquake which occurred on May 2, 1621, found the church well under way. The body of the church, its doors, the principal chapel, and the sacristy were already clearly defined. Some damage was done by the earthquake. Two columns which faced the central plaza were thrown over, and the old wooden edifice which had been kept erect by props, toppled and swayed, and had it not been for the new walls of masonry which were being erected around it, it would have fallen to the ground.

On August 20, 1624, two days after the death of Francisco de la Cámara, the parochial service was transferred to the chapel of the Convent of the Society of Jesus, and the old church was finally torn down.

The work of directing the building of the church was entrusted to a Commission composed of a Judge of the Royal Audiencia, of a prominent citizen, and of a rich inhabitant named Pedro de Alarcón. The work was carried forward by a donation of a third part of the income of the Royal Treasury, alms of the congregation, a sum of \$4,000 which Bishop Cámara had left for this work upon his death, and advances made by Pedro de Alarcón from his private fortune. These

advances were paid back slowly from the revenues of the church, so that the inhabitants of Panamá in the seventeenth century could boast of having constructed the cathedral from their own resources.

On September 29, 1626 (St. Michael's Day), amid great pomp and ceremony, the Sacred Sacrament was transferred from the chapel of the Convent of the Society of Jesus to the new cathedral, which was dedicated to our Lady of the Ascension. The new cathedral was a vast and important edifice solidly constructed of mortar and stone, with ample space for the congregation. It possessed a façade and two portals of Corinthian architecture. The main entrance was on the northern side, and there was another on the western. From its south-western corner, a great rectangular tower of finished stone reared itself, the base of which was 32 feet square. This lofty tower was of goodly proportions, and had three floors with a cupola above. The whole structure, indeed, was so impressive and beautiful that Ringrose, contemplating it from some distance at sea, compared it to the tower of St. Peters in London. Within the small windows found just below the cupola hung six bells, sonorous and well tuned, consecrated in 1608 by Bishop Augustin de Carabajal. The roof of the cathedral was of tile with wainscoting of cedar neatly finished, supported by square columns of balsam wood resting on stone bases.

The interior of the church was laid out in the form of a cross. The principal chapel occupied the top of the cross. The arms of the cross on the side of the Epistles constituted the Chapel of our Lady of the Ascension, and the Chapel of All Souls occupied the whole of the other arm of the cross on the side of the Gospels. The church proper was divided into three wide naves containing altogether 8,809 square feet, all paved with stone. This area was lighted with ten windows, five windows opening to the east and five to the west. The window frames were made of beautiful wood, native of the country.

The main chapel, together with a spacious sacristy, occupied 900 square feet, beneath a great arch spanning 30 feet across. The main altar stood in the center of this chapel, artistically crowned with a gilded ciborium. Eight very beautiful candelabra of silver were found on the altar, and a magnificent drapery was hung in this chapel before which, in honor of the Sacred Sacrament, oil was burned in a great silver lamp. Before the altar were placed two benches without foot-rests or backs, facing each other, the one intended for the President of the Royal Audiencia and his colleagues, and the other for the members of the Chapter of the Cathedral.

The Chapel of our Lady of the Conception, occupying 675 square feet, its altar adorned with rich hangings and six modest candlesticks of silver, boasted the best niche in the church. A beautifully painted altarpiece, finely gilded, occupied the central part of this altar, and represented the Virgin in an attitude of devotion. Rich hangings and a silver lamp filled with oil completed its luxurious finery.

The Chapel of All Souls measured 716 square feet. This chapel was formed by two great arches of finished stone resting on a common pillar of fine workmanship, with the two remote sides of the arch supported by two half columns set in to the side walls. The altar was built of stone, and on it was hung an original painting, the work of a great artist of Lima. According to Juan Requexo Salcedo, this picture was capable of awakening within the soul of the observer both fear and devotion; hell was pictured with a variety of imagery, showing in contrast purgatory and the bosom of the Sainted Fathers; from the former place our Savior, the resurrected Christ, was calling forth the souls of the saved, escorted by a group of rosy angels. The chapel was a single step above the floor of the church proper. At its entrance on a small tablet were inscribed the numerous indulgences which the church enjoyed by virtue of special concessions made to it by His Holiness, Pope Urban VIII. Within this chapel, oil burned in a silver lamp no less rich or beautiful than those found in the other two chapels.

The cathedral also possessed a choir of 2,040 square feet which was very sumptuous. A balustrade surrounded it, made of cocobolo wood, an elegant sample of cabinet work. A fine organ occupied its precinct, resting on a great platform of cedar, the base of which was of neatly finished wood matching the balustrades. The church's pulpit and its single baptismal font of beautiful cut stone added greatly to the splendor of the church.

The church possessed images and furnishings of great value: ostensorias, chalices, ciborias, patens, and croziers of solid gold; mitres, chasubles, albs, rochets, surplices, mozettas, stoles, dalmatics, missals, and all kind of vestments embroidered in fine gold; crucifixes, canopies, banners, processional torches, candelabras, sanctuary lamps, incensories, censers' boats, oil-stocks, cruets, missal stands, processional crosses, all of pure silver; two large maces, the symbols of authority, of finely worked silver, parts of which were gilded; and fonts of holy water. A multitude of votive offerings of different metals hung upon the miraculous images as faithful witnesses of grace obtained.

On the night of February 21, 1644, at nine o'clock, Panamá was the victim of a great fire which laid waste to its commercial center, eighty-three houses being consumed, among which were the cathedral, the bishop's residence, and the seminary. The total loss was estimated at two million dollars. Amid the terror which this conflagration occasioned, the bishop, Father Hernando de Ramírez, a true hero of the faith, left his own house in flames, ran to the cathedral, and after carrying to a place of safety the altarpieces, pictures, ornaments, and other requisites of the service, took out the Holy Sacrament and carried it, in procession, before the advancing flames, in an effort to placate divine justice.

The damage to the cathedral was very great. In fact, it made it imperative to close the building. In the sacristy, an altar was installed containing the ciborium in which was kept the Holy Sacrament, as well as the sacred oil for administering extreme unction to the sick. The other rites of the holy service, however, were performed as previously in the chapel of the Convent of the Society of Jesus. When order was once more restored in the city, the eyes of the congregation turned naturally toward their once beautiful temple, and with singleness of purpose and rivaling each other in their ardor, they began the work of reconstruction.

After the fire, the country was left in a truly lamentable economic condition, but notwithstanding, Bishop Ramírez, indefatigable in his efforts, began anew the repairing of the church with titanic energy. He gave up what was due to him for funeral fees, accumulated during the vacancy of the benefice, which amounted to more than \$2,000. He appealed to His Majesty the King for help, and in company with the President of the Royal Audience went about among the public, collecting from the inhabitants of this region, \$15,000. The work of reconstruction was finished in 1649, the cathedral being an exact replica of the one destroyed by the fire. Unfortunately, Bishop Ramírez died without having the satisfaction of consecrating the new edifice, which would indeed have been a reward well merited by his constant and untiring devotion. This honor fell to Bishop Bernardo de Yzaguirre some years later.

In the sumptuous building, amid riches and splendor, the bishops of this church, surrounded by canons, worshiped the Lord of Hosts with dazzling pomp, fitting to the Roman Church, and with an ostentation which in its faith and devotion surpassed that of the Spanish Grandees of Madrid and Seville.

The year 1671 was a lamentable and memorable one. On Wednesday the 28th of February, the buccaneer Henry Morgan, after a bloody battle, took the city of Panamá and set fire to it. The flames soon reduced the city to ashes, and of that beautiful cathedral, once the pride of its day, there remains only ruins and débris scattered over 16,000 square feet of floor space, and covered with portions of its walls, blackened by the flames and worn by the weather. There also remains the skeletons of its one magnificent tower, which still rises to a height of 90 feet, pierced at intervals with windows. The lateral arch which sustains it is still intact, as well as a part of its winding staircase of finished stone, which at one time mounted to the cupola above. One can see also, through the openings in the cupola, the beams from which formerly hung the pealing parochial bells.

The ruins of this magnificent cathedral call forth one's admiration, for amid the profound silence of death and desertion they recall human glory and riches that are gone forever. They seem almost to give forth a cry of pain and surprise, for the skeleton of that great tower which rises from the ground, still vigorous and stable, resembles the naked arm of a gigantic cadaver striving desperately to reach up to heaven, and call down from that celestial sphere well-merited punishment on the ferocious buccaneers.

SAMUEL LEWIS.

A FOOTNOTE TO THE HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF PERU

Nearly all writers on history content themselves with saying that Francisco Pizarro and his men landed at Tumbes. While this is perhaps accurate enough to satisfy the majority, it is not strictly true, for the real landing-place, at least that so credited by local opinion, is at a point on the coast some two and half hours south of Tumbes by horse-back, probably between seven and eight miles.

In 1527 Pizarro, with the famous Thirteen who had shown their loyalty to him by remaining with him on the Island of Gallo instead of returning to Panamá with Tafur who had been sent for them, arrived off the then town of Tumbes while on a cruise of exploration. One of the men, Pedro de Candia, went ashore and was greeted in a friendly fashion by the natives, who took him to see the fortress and the Sun Temple, both of which, on his return to the ship, Candia described as being all that was grand, enormous, and magnificent. Years later, in

1531, Pizarro himself visited the place and, on seeing the "little fort" (*forteçuelo*) and Sun Temple, experienced great disappointment because they showed him that Candia's former report was nothing but a mass of lies, exaggerations, and fables.¹

All this leads me to be very sure that popular legend is correct in assigning to the spot I mention the honor of being Pizarro's landing place. The small and humble little fort of La Garita, the only one of its kind in the whole district, is close at hand.

On May 16, 1532, Francisco Pizarro and his force of less than two hundred men, landed and marched inland in a southwardly direction. The first place of any importance they came to was Puchiu (now called Poechos) in the upper part of the Chira valley. The next important point touched at was Sulluna or Sullana. So far the line of march led along an Inca trail which led southward from Tumbes, probably the same trail I saw at La Garita. From Sullana, Pizarro marched down the Chira valley to the place where a chief called Lachira or Lachila had his stronghold. From there he proceeded to Almotaxe (now Amotape) where a curaca of the same name, Almotaxe, was ruling. Both Lachira and Almotaxe resisted the invaders, and Pizarro punished both of them severely. La Guaca (now La Huaca) was the next place visited by the Spaniards. Finally they reached Tangarará, crossing over to the right bank of the river by means of *balsas* (or rafts). There Pizarro founded the first Spanish settlement and the first Christian Church in Peru. Raimondi thinks that the ruins to be seen at Tangarará today are those of the original village, but I am inclined to agree with Sra. de Vegas, the present owner of the fat hacienda of Tangarará, who told me very definitely that the present vestiges of old buildings are not more than two hundred or two hundred and fifty years old. They represent a much higher type of building than that which men of the sort typified by Pizarro and his crew of bold adventurers would be likely to take the trouble to erect. On the other hand, there are indications that the large *acequia* (irrigation ditch) nearby occupies some of the space formerly filled up by Pizarro's irrigation works. At all events, Pizarro did found some sort of settlement at this point, giving it the name of San Miguel. In September, 1532, Pizarro set out from San Miguel, leaving a very small garrison mainly composed of invalids in charge of Antonio de Navarro. A three-day march took him to Pavor or Pabor (modern Pabur) on the left bank of the

¹ Montesinos, *Anales*, Años 1527 & 1531.

Piura River. From there he went southward to Huancabamba and Cajamarca.²

All the foregoing is well enough known, but the subsequent history of the town of San Miguel is only partly appreciated. The site was thought to be unwholesome, I do not know why, and, after a comparatively short occupation, it was abandoned, the city being moved to a new site in the Piura valley. Most people assume that the second place where the settlement was established was the present site of the city of Piura, but, as Dr. Eguiguren has made clear, this is not the case. The second site was that near Chulucanas, which is today known as Piura-la-vieja.³

Montesinos (Anales, Año 1531), also mentions it by this name. The date at which the change was made can only be ascertained approximately. It is known that Diego de Almagro wrote a letter to the King of the Spains on May 8, 1534, dating it from the city of San Miguel, but not from San Miguel de Piura. That term is used for the first time on April 20, 1554, by Bravo de Saravia and Mercado de Peñaloza in a letter to the audiencia of Panama, of which they were Oidores. We know, therefore, that the removal was made between 1534 and 1554.⁴

We are so fortunate as to have an account of this second city, written about 1571 by Juan de Salinas Loyola. This description gives us a good idea of what the little settlement was like. Salinas says: (I translate from Eguiguren's text).

The site and valley where the city stands is very hot because it is twenty-five leagues from the sea and no breezes reach it. The wind which blows is very tenuous and without mists. The few currents of air are mostly from the plains, on which account they are very warm, but breezes also come from the mountains, and these are cool and wholesome. The sky is continually clear, save when it rains, which is rarely. Some years it has been wont to rain in heavy showers, which are thought to be harmful and unwholesome. The place is held to be unhealthy, especially for boys . . . and particularly common is a sickness of the eyes on account of which many natives are without sight; the rest of the illnesses are, ordinarily, fevers. The valley of Piura is very broad, even where it stands, and a knoll was chosen as the site as it was considered the most salubrious, and nearby are many hills, for the city is almost at the foot of the moun-

² Raimondi 1879-1911, II. 19-21; Paz-Soldan, 1862, I. 182-194, García Rosell, 1903; Eguiguren, 1895; Xerez, 1749, p. 185; 1917, pp. 18-23; Herrera Tordeillas, Dec. IV. lib. IX. Cap. II.

³ Eguiguren, 1895.

⁴ Eguiguren, 1895, p. 26.

tain. The plan of the city is: the plaza in the middle, from which eight streets lead off. In these are blocks of lots, with one hundred eighty feet in a lot, each block having four lots. The streets are thirty feet broad. There are about one hundred houses, with foundations of stone and the rest of adobe and *tapia* and brick, the roof being straw, for it rains but little. There is a town-hall and some butcher-shops of the same material as the other buildings. There is a church, which was built when the city was first established, at the cost of the citizens and the natives. There is also a monastery of the order of Our Lady of Mercy, built in the same manner and at the cost of the aforementioned persons. There is a hospital, well built with the bequests of men who have died and it has an endowment, albeit a small one. There are also two hermitages outside the city.

The account given by Salinas Loyola is, on the whole, fairly accurate, though somewhat rose-colored, for in truth a worse site for the city could not be easily imagined. Not only is the land about dry and barren, but the nearest perennial source of water supply is nearly a mile away. There are no signs of acequias in the vicinity. The masonry is rough uncut field-stones laid in mud and sand. I believe that the absence of openings for doors and windows may be explained by what Salinas says of the foundations of the houses, and that the walls now standing are only the underpinning, the upper part of the walls, made of adobe, having since been washed off.

At some date between 1571 and 1585 the inhabitants of Piura-lavieja definitely abandoned that site to its fate, and took up their residence at San Francisco de Buena Esperanza de Payta. Here, again, life was full of difficulties. Wood and water had to be brought by *balsa* from Colon, an arduous task. The then Viceroy, Fernando de Torres y Portugal, Conde del Villar Don Pardo, was asked for permission to move to some new and more satisfactory site. Nothing came of the request at that time. In 1587, Paita was raided and sacked by Sir Thomas Cavendish, as a result of which most of the inhabitants, including all the religious, moved to the valley of Catacaos where a new town was set up, at a spot then called Tacalá. This was the city of San Miguel de Piura finally erected in the site where it now stands, one free from most of the inconveniences that characterized the others.⁵

Following is a list of references that may be consulted in regard to these matters.

⁵ Eguiguren, 1895.

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- PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

THE SPANISH FLAG IN LOUISIANA

Louisiana has the unique distinction of having had more flags—national and state—wave over her than any of her forty-seven sisters. Beginning with that of Spain she has had nine—some of them twice—of which eight may be called national and one state. Briefly, the eight are: The white banner of the Bourbons, the red and yellow of Spain, the British flag, the tricolor of the French republic, the Stars and Stripes, the lone star of the West Florida Republic, the “national flag of the independent state of Louisiana” (1861), the Confederate flag. Of course if we count the various modifications that some of these have undergone, not nine but legion will be the number. The present (Pelican) state flag was not adopted until after the Reconstruction era. Of course, after April 1862, Old Glory waved over these parts of the state within the Federal lines, and in 1865 was hoisted over it all.

Our concern, however, is chiefly with the Spanish flag. It first appeared in the present limits of Louisiana in 1541, when De Soto's expedition rested for a few weeks in eastern Louisiana. After his death his followers bore their banner through western Louisiana, then back to the Mississippi, down which they floated to the gulf. No settlement was erected at this time, so the Spanish ensign merely waved in passing. It was not to return for over two centuries.

Iberville, in 1699 raised the Bourbon flag over the colony of Louisiana, at Biloxi, in the present state of Mississippi. The same year he discovered and named Baton Rouge, and a few years later settlements

were made in the present state of Louisiana. Doubtless La Salle had first displayed the Bourbon banner in Louisiana in 1682. He had suggested the name "Louisiane" in 1679. When in 1763, Louisiana east of the Mississippi was ceded to England, and the parts west to Spain, two banners replaced that of France: in that part of the state now known as "the Florida parishes", lying between the Mississippi and Pearl rivers, and the lakes and the state of Mississippi, the Union Jack floated, and Baton Rouge became Fort Richmond. Over the "isle of Orleans" and western Louisiana once more the flag of Spain appeared. Before long the scarlet and saffron was to supersede the British emblem in "the Florida parishes". Governor Galvez, in 1779, proceeded from New Orleans with a motley force of Spaniards, Americans, Indians, and negroes, and seized the British posts at Manchac, Baton Rouge, and Natchez.

For three short weeks in 1803, the tricolor of the French republic fluttered above the "place d'armes" in New Orleans, but appears not to have been displayed elsewhere in the colony. During this time Louisiana was transferred from Spain to France, and then Laussat, Napoleon's agent, transferred it to the United States. As the blue, white and red of the tricolor descended, it met the red, white and blue of the Stars and Stripes ascending. However, the Spanish banner continued to wave in the Florida parishes, as Spain held on to this region, as part of her province of West Florida, though Jefferson and Madison claimed it as part of the Louisiana purchase. A few years later, the discontented Anglo-Americans in the province organized a revolution, and in September, 1810, erected the "Republic of West Florida". General Philemon Thomas captured the fort at Baton Rouge, and planted upon it a blue woolen banner bearing a single silver star—the first "lone star" flag in American history. The new republic applied for annexation to the United States, but as President Madison thought it part of the Louisiana purchase, he had Governor Claiborne annex it to the territory of Orleans. So now, for the first time, appeared the present limits of Louisiana, and over it waved the Stars and Stripes.

We may note in passing that after Louisiana had seceded from the Union (January, 1861) and before she joined the Confederacy (March), her convention adopted a "national flag for the sovereign and independent state of Louisiana". This was intended to epitomize all her previous flags, and consisted of thirteen stripes of blue (4), white (6), and red (3), with a field of red containing a single yellow star.

Returning to the Spanish flag, let us see what it symbolizes in the history and civilization of Louisiana. In the "flag number" of the *National Geographic Magazine*, three Spanish flags are given—the royal standard, the naval ensign and the merchant flag. The first of these is a purple banner, bearing in the center the royal coat of arms. Two stripes of red, separated by a broader one of yellow, in which appears the national coat of arms, make up the ensign; while the merchant flag is yellow with two red stripes near the upper and lower edges. The flag borne by Columbus, or the "standard of Spain" is given as a quartering of grey and red. A red lion of Leon ramps on the grey squares, while the yellow castle of Castile appears upon the red ones. Perhaps de Soto bore this flag too, but as an Admiral he was more likely to have had the naval ensign. Be that as it may, all of these colors are symbolized in Louisiana.

The grey is represented by the Spanish moss (*barbe espagnole*) which droops so picturesquely from her cypresses and live-oaks. It also typifies the fogs of the Father of Waters, to say nothing of the jackets of the many soldiers Louisiana sent into the Confederate army. The flowers of her pomegranates, her hibiscus, her verbena and her roses suggest the red of the banner of Spain. Redder still is the ardent, patriotic blood of the Louisianians, whether they be Creoles or of Anglo-American extraction. Perhaps some of that red blood is nourished by the delicious "redfish courtbouillon" which the housewives of Louisiana know so well how to prepare. Golden oranges, the yellow jasmine, the acacia flower, the yellow harvest of the rice fields, the golden return from her sugar plantations reproduce the yellow of the flag, as does the brilliant southern sunshine. But the golden, openhearted hospitality of Louisiana is the true meaning of the yellow. Even the royal standard can find its prototype in Louisiana. Not merely the purple of the sugarcane, or the lavender of the water-hyacinth, but the regal beauty of the daughters of Louisiana is what it represents.

Apart from metaphor, what does the Spanish flag stand for in Louisiana? Such names as Almonaster in philanthropy, Unzaga and Miro in government, Gayarré in letters, Peñalvert y Cardenas in religion, Bermudez in law, Quintero in journalism, and Matas in surgery, indicate some of the fields in which the Spanish element has borne a notable part in the development of Louisiana. Besides "peninsular" Spaniards, many came to Louisiana from other parts of Spanish America and many continue to come, and find a welcome. The "isleños", or Canary islanders, began coming in 1778, and their descendants still

abound. After the slave insurrection of 1791, many of both Spanish and French blood fled from Santo Domingo to Louisiana. On the map of the state appear many such place names as Iberia, Feliciana, de Soto, Galvez, and Segura. Both the name "cabildo" and the building which bears it commemorate the Spanish régime in New Orleans. In this old governmental office are found many specimens of Spanish art, letters, and government.

Like other Latin countries, Spain drew her law largely from Roman sources. This was transferred to her colonies, and in Louisiana it easily merged with the existing French law and the local ordinances. All of these, revised in the light of the *Code Napoléon* were adapted by Edward Livingston and his associates to Anglo-American jurisprudence to form the Civil Code of 1825, which is the basis of the law of Louisiana.

The "isleños" have developed a distinctive dialect and folklore of their own, which was first seriously studied by the late Professor Alcée Fortier.

From this hasty sketch it is evident that the Spanish influence has been an important one in Louisiana. It is not surprising that New Orleans has always had an extensive commerce with Hispanic America. Today this trade is growing rapidly, especially with Mexico, Central America, Panama and the islands of the gulf and Caribbean. It is also well-known that previous to 1860 filibusters, such as Walker and Lopez made New Orleans their rendezvous.

Louisiana State University, Tulane University, and the other educational institutions of the state draw many students from Hispanic America. The Audubon Sugar School, of the State University, attracts so many, that a few years ago it was found expedient to issue a bulletin in Spanish.

In the promotion of Pan-Americanism, Louisiana should and doubtless will play an important part. Even today, she has sent teachers to many Hispanic American countries, and her leading higher institutions have Hispanic Americans on their faculties. In the great international crisis of today, there are no more loyal and ardent patriots in the world than those of Louisiana; and amongst these none rank higher than those of Spanish descent. Their blood is as red and their virtue as purely golden as the colors of the banner of old Spain.

MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

Louisiana State University,
July, 1918.

THE PHILIPPINE SITUADO

With the exception of certain extraordinary or minor imposts, the bulk of the duties collected at Acapulco on the cargoes of the Manila galleons was ordinarily remitted to Manila as the annual *situado*. The exact nature of the Philippine *situado* has been the source of controversy.¹ If it had conformed rigidly to the theory of this particular case, the *situado* would have merely amounted to the rebating to Manila of the *almojarifazgo* tax collected at Acapulco. Such was clearly the intent of the law of 1606,² which was evidently issued in response to petitions from Manila, whose citizens objected to what seemed to them paying tribute into the treasury of the viceroyalty.³ As such it had none of the character of a subsidy, the usual equivalent for the term *situado*. The former was, however, a recourse common to the Spanish colonial system, where the silver-producing regions like Mexico and Peru were required to contribute to the support of less productive portions of the empire, such as Chile and Florida, whose value was more strategic and sentimental than economic.⁴ The great sums sent to Spain itself

¹ "Una cosa que ha sido siempre interpretada de una manera errónea." Pardo de Tavera, *Biblioteca filipina*, p. 193. Felipe de Govantes denied that the *situado* was in any sense a subsidy. *Compendio de la Historia de Filipinas*, appendix no. 23, quoted by Pardo de Tavera. Edward Gaylord Bourne declared Govantes's statement entirely wrong. *The Philippine Situado from the Treasury of New Spain in the American Historical Review*, X. 459-61. The discussion was continued by James A. Leroy in the same volume of the *Review*, pp. 929-32.

² *Recopilacion de Leyes de las Indias*, lib. 9, tit. 45, ley 65. A law of the next year virtually reiterated the former order: "Que el Virrey de Nueva España envíe al Gobernador de Filipinas los socorros que le pidiere, y fueren necesarios. . . . todo lo necesario . . . de gente, armas, municiones, y dinero para la conservacion de aquellas islas, sueldos y presidios." *Ibid.*, lib. 3, tit. 4, ley 13. In case of the return of a galleon to port [*arribada*], or its detention at Acapulco until the following year, a double *situado* was to be sent. Queen Regent to Viceroy Fray Payo de Ribera, July 25, 1674, *Archivo General de Indias*, 105-2-3. A small *situado* of about 19,000 pesos was also sent to the Ladrones, or Marianas.

³ Governor Tello to the King, August 7, 1599, Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands; 1493-1898*, XI. 127. Tello said: "Your majesty has ordered that this money be returned to us, but it has never been done." This would show an order antedating the *cédula* of 1606.

⁴ Vanderlinden, *L'Expansion Coloniale des Peuples Européens*, pp. 359, 435, Roscher, *The Spanish Colonial System*, p. 40. An eighteenth century memorial of the City of Manila declared that the following colonies received *situados* from the treasury of Mexico: Panzacola (sic), Florida, Habana, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, Margarita, Cumaná. *Extracto Historial*, f. 73.

were virtually only another phase of the Spanish policy of economic equalization that was to balance the different parts of the empire.

The great increase in the expenses of the government of the Philippines, which was largely consequent on the ambitions of Spain in the Moluccas, and on the beginning of the costly wars with the Dutch, made impossible the realization of the original design of the *situado*. Almost from its inception the *situado* assumed the character of at least a partial subsidy. Antonio de Morga wrote in very early in the seventeenth century: "These expenses are generally greatly in excess of these duties, and the amount is made up from the royal treasury of Mexico."⁵ The sources of revenue in the islands—native and Chinese *tributo*, customs duties from the Chinese champans, etc.—were not equal to the large demands on the insular treasury. Accordingly the deficit had to be made up by an out-and-out donation from Mexico. Thus the *situado* partook partly of the nature of an actual subsidy, and partly of that of a simple remission of duties that could apparently have been levied as well in Manila. It was, however, much easier to collect this money at Acapulco and send it back to Manila than to attempt to levy the large *almojarifazgo* tax in the islands. In exceptional times, as when a temporary decrease in the expenses of the Philippine establishment coincided with the assessment of an unusually large amount of duties at Acapulco, the *situado* might approximate to the early ideal which would have made the colony fiscally self-sufficient. Again, the low state of the viceregal treasury might throw the Philippine administration back upon such resources as it could command.⁶ At such times the *situado* would actually be restricted to a return of the duties. This was the case during the years 1723–1731, when the total of the *situados* amounted to 748,471 pesos, an average of 83,163 pesos.⁷

⁵ *Sucesos de Filipinas* (Mexico, 1609), in B. and R., XVI. 192.

⁶ The islands counted upon the *situado* for the main body of their revenues, and its failure to arrive caused loud complaints in official circles and often real misery in the entire colony. Arriaga to Bucarely, March 26, 1774, *A. de I.*, 146–4–2.

⁷ *Extracto Historial*, f. 128b. Philip III. said in 1618: "The expenditures for the Philippines that have been made from my royal inheritance amount to more than 7,000,000 pesos." Philip III. to Governor Fajardo, December 19, 1618, B and R., XVIII. 156. This would have been an average of about 132,000 pesos a year, and evidently includes other items beside the *situado*, as the cost of fitting out such a force as Pedro de Acuña took to the colony.

The contention made in 1640 by Grau y Monfalcón, and supported by figures, that the cost of the Philippines to the government of the viceroyalty was actually but some 26,000 pesos⁸ requires qualification, just as the opponents of Philippine interests erred even further in their charge that the islands were financially an absolute burden. The *procurador* gives as the total annual expenses of the region under the jurisdiction of the Philippine government 850,734 pesos. To offset this he contends that the revenue derived from the galleon trade was 300,000 pesos—this at a time when the cost of the galleon's cargo was arbitrarily limited to 250,000 pesos, and its sale value to double that amount. Though he acknowledges the existence of a large contribution from New Spain independently of the 300,000 pesos, he says that this, the true subsidy, was almost totally consumed in the Moluccas. In his more elaborate *Memorial informatorio* of three years before Grau had gone even further and declared that the islands produced a surplus. Some persons, he said, hold the erroneous opinion that the Philippines are "of little use, and great expense".⁹

In spite of the occasional royal prescriptions to that effect, there was no strict uniformity in the amount of the *situado*, though there was an approach to it for relatively short periods. Thus, in 1700 the King ordered it to be fixed henceforth at 140,000 pesos.¹⁰ Legentil's statement, made in 1781, that the *situado* had amounted to 110,000 pesos since 1696, is of course incorrect,¹¹ while Montero y Vidal says that in 1696 it was reduced to 74,000 pesos.¹² The figures for a number of years chosen at random throughout the history of the commerce of the Philippines will illustrate the fluctuations in quantity (authority for each statement being given immediately following the respective amount of subsidy):

1607, 78,000 pesos.—Viceroy Montesclaros to the King, January 15, 1607, *A. de I.*, 58–3–16.

1629, 250,000 pesos.—Governor Tavora to the King, August 1, 1629, *B. and R.*, XXIII. 61.

1631 and 1632, 200,000 and 234,000 pesos respectively.—*Idem* to *idem*, July 8, 1632, *B. and R.*, XXIV. 197.

⁸ *Justificacion, Extracto Historial*, f. 8b.

⁹ *Extracto Historial*, f. 241.

¹⁰ The King to Governor Cruzat y Góngora, March 6, 1700, *A. de I.*, 105–2–4.

¹¹ *Voyage dans les Mers de l'Inde*, II. 169.

¹² *Historia de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1887–1895), I. 497. Montero evidently has in mind the amount of the *indulto* established by Viceroy Paredes a few years before.

1666, 85,000 pesos.—Governor Salcedo to the King, August 4, 1667, *A. de I.*, 67-6-9.

1673, 136,138 pesos.—Governor León to the King, May 31, 1674, *A. de I.*, 67-6-11.

1678 and 1680, 338,832 and 120,208 pesos respectively.—Governor Vargas Hurtado to the King, June 11, 1681, *A. de I.*, 67-6-11.

1725 and 1730, 72,801 and 90,922 pesos respectively.—*Extracto historial*, f. 128b.

1742, 211,000 pesos.—Testimony of Antonio Bermúdez, *sargento-mayor* of the *Covadonga*, March 4, 1744, *A. de I.*, 68-6-38.

1761, 287,000 pesos.—*Testimonio de los caudales, etc.*, *A. de I.*, 108-3-18.

1786 and 1787, 346,912 and 74,383 pesos respectively.—*Estado que . . . manifiesta las cobranzas y pagos . . . en la Tesorería de Real Hazienda de estas islas*, November 24, 1788, *A. de I.*, 107-5-16.

The *situado* was not abolished until 1804,¹³ many years after Basco y Vargas's institution of the tobacco monopoly had made the Philippines a fiscal asset.¹⁴

WILLIAM LYTLE SCHURZ.

THE TERM "LATIN AMERICA."

The first article of *Hispania* for September, namely "The term Latin America" by the editor, is of interest to students of Hispanic American history. In it Sr. Espinosa discusses the term "Latin America" from various angles, and shows that it is an intruder, and against historical truth. Among other things he says: "For the last four centuries, that is from the discovery of the new world until the end of the XIXth century, no writer, historian, or philologist of importance used the terms *Latin America*, *Latin American*. The French used for four centuries the term *Amérique Espagnole*, the English and North Americans the term *Spanish America*, the Italians the term *America Spagnuola*, etc. We

¹³ Folgueras, Governor *ad interim*, to Soler, November 30, 1806, *A. de I.*, 107-5-30. Folgueras refers to an order from the King, dated February 20, 1804, in which the latter declared that "the grave position of the Crown does not permit that the revenues of Mexico should be employed in further *situados*."

¹⁴ Sir John Bowring wrote in 1859: "The Philippines have made, and continue to make, large contributions to the mother country, generally in excess of the stipulated amount, which is called the *situado*." *The Philippine Islands*, p. 98.

have always said and still say *The Spanish Peninsula*. The term *Latin America*, therefore, is a new term, an intruder, and must prove a right to exist. The manner in which it has been adopted by some distinguished writers in our day is surprising. The new name is not only vague, meaningless, and unjust, but what is much more, it is unscientific. It has been argued by some that the term *Latin America* was introduced on account of Brazil. It is a fallacy: because Brazil is Portuguese in origin, in culture and language, and comes from Portugal, an integral part of the Spanish peninsula, *Hispania*, *Spain*; and therefore *Hispanic America* includes Brazil as well as Argentina and other South American countries." Continuing, Sr. Espinosa reviews briefly the protests that have been made against the use of the term "Latin America". He notes that the first person to protest against the use of the term was "the distinguished Hispanist, Mr. J. C. Cebrán, of San Francisco", in a letter printed in *Las Novedades*, of New York, March 2, 1916. *Hispania* reproduces the letter almost entire in its original Spanish, a translation of which is here appended.

On glancing through the pages of *Las Novedades*, I note with pleasure the Spanish spirit that pervades them, and I am emboldened thereby to submit to your consideration a question of very vital importance to our Spain, namely, the new name or nickname which some persons are now using with respect to our brother peoples, with respect to the Hispano-American republics which they are now trying to baptize as "Latin America". With what reason is this being done? With no reason, for "Latin America signifies a "Latin" product or derivative, and "Latin" today signifies "French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese". But, those countries are the legitimate children of Spain with no intervention from France or Italy. Spain alone poured out its blood, lost its sons and daughters, spent its treasure and gave of its intellect, and employed its own methods (and ofttimes vituperated, without any reason be it said) in the conquest, civilization, and creation of those countries. Spain, alone, nursed them, created them, guided them as a mother, without the aid of France, or of Italy (rather being censured by those two Latin countries), and protected them from other envious nations. Spain, alone, endowed them with its language, its laws, customs, and manners, and its vices and virtues. Spain transplanted its own civilization into those countries without the aid of others. Once having been created, and having attained their majority, those Hispanic countries followed the example of the United States, and separated from their mother Spain, but naturally preserved Spain's language, laws, customs, and manners as before; also imitating thereby the United States which preserved its ancestral English language, England's "Common Law", English laws, manners, and customs, in spite of the diversity and great number of immigrants who have continued to be admitted into that country. In like manner we see that after having been "Spanish" colonies, the whole world continued to call those countries by their proper name, that is, "Spanish"; and until about five years ago, they have been known as "Hispanic American" countries,

"Hispanic American" Republics, "Spanish or Hispanic America". The "Yankees" always used the term "Spanish America"; and whenever a Hispanic American from any region whatsoever journeyed through the United States, everyone, learned or unlearned, great or small, called him and still call such persons "Spanish". It never occurs to them to say "He or she is Latin". Examine the writings and printed matter of the United States before 1910, and the terms "Spanish", "Spanish American", "Spanish America", "the Spanish Republics" will always be found. The same was true in France before 1910. All its periodicals and books printed "*les pays hispano-américains*", "*les hispano-américains*", "*l'Amérique espagnole*".

Besides the eighteen Spanish republics, we have Brazil, which was created by Portugal, where Portuguese is spoken, and which is ruled by the laws, manners, and customs of Portugal. But it is to be noted that that country is also Hispanic, for "Hispania" like "Iberia" included Portugal and Spain and nothing else. Hence the term "Hispanic American" included everything that proceeds from Portugal and Spain. For instance, "Yankees" renowned as intellectual, logical, and just, founded a society in New York for the study of American history in its relations to Spain and Portugal, and selected as its name "The Hispanic Society of America". They did not choose the title "Latin Society of America" for that would have been a mistake, a falsity, a crass error, just as is to try to apply the term "Latin" to our Hispanic, Hispano, or Spanish nations (which are descended neither from France nor from Italy). The French power in America was never established in the Hispanic countries. It was exercised solely in lands belonging at the present time, either to the United States or to Canada. And yet France is endeavoring to introduce the term "Latin" into those regions.

Let us examine the question frankly. Until a short time ago the Hispanic American countries were the laughingstock of Europe. The French theater of the nineteenth century is full of ill-sounding jokes against "*les hispano-américains*". During that period, it was found natural to call them by their true term "Spanish". But it has been noticed lately that those countries have grown, that they have got rich, that they have acquired strength, and that they promise to be important factors in future history. So under these circumstances, it pains the French to call them "Spanish", and in order to avoid or erase that name, they have recourse to the adjective "Latin". Whenever one says or prints "*América Española*", or "*Hispano-americano*", or Spanish American", or "Spanish America", etc., the name of Spain is advertised; and it should be noted that this is a legitimate, just, and truthful advertisement. Whenever one says or prints "*América Latina*", "*Latin America*", etc., the name of Spain is not advertised, but in exchange the name "Latin" is advertised, which is equivalent to saying "France", "Italy", etc. Thus two names are advertised, namely, France and Italy, illegitimately, erroneously, and unjustly, for neither France nor Italy produced those nations. And at the same time, this kills the legitimate advertisement of Spain.

Spain is the least commercial country of Europe, and has always been unaware of the value and method of advertising. Commercial nations know its immense value and do not depreciate it. They also know how important it is to obscure or kill the advertising of their competitors.

One more point moreover: if it is desired to call the Spanish nations "Latin", the colonies of France and Italy also ought to be called "Latin". Algiers, the French Kongo, Senegal, Madagascar, Tonkin, etc., ought also to be called "Latin" colonies. But France would oppose this and rightly. And if we call those nations "Latin", because of their ancestral language, we shall also have to call the United States and Canada "Teutonic", because of their linguistic origin and because they are peopled by people of a Teutonic race. Thus, we shall have two Americas, the "Latin" and the "Teutonic". But not so, the just and logical name is that which has been given universally until the present, namely, "English America" and "Spanish (or Hispanic) America". There is nothing more to say, for the French, Dutch, and Danish spots on the map of America are mathematically negligible.

Sr. Espinosa asserts "that there is no justification whatever, therefore, for the new term 'Latin America' and its derivatives", and that "for historical reasons justice demands that the new term be banished". Continuing Sr. Espinosa mentions and quotes from the letters, etc., of the eminent philologist, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the academician, Mariano de Cavia, the Uruguayan author, Rodó, and the Portuguese Almeida Garret, all of which have been noticed in earlier issues of this REVIEW, and all of which agree that the term "Latin" is incorrect when used in conjunction with countries of Hispanic (including both Spain and Portugal) origin, in America. Sr. Espinosa gives point to his article by the following:

I have presented this problem to the readers of *Hispania* in order to call their attention to the new, improper, unjust, unscientific term *Latin America*, and its derivatives. The articles and letters quoted give the essential arguments in favor of the preservation of the traditional and correct terms. It has been shown also that Spanish American and Portuguese men of letters of the fame and international renown of Rodó and Almeida Garret object to the new and false terms. Should not we, the members of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, therefore, insist that the new and false terms which have come to be used quite generally since the year 1910 be banished from our vocabulary? Should we not as teachers and scholars insist on the truths of history and teach our students the proper phraseology? I, for one, will insist on it. As editor of *Hispania*, I most earnestly beg of all contributors and advertisers to use always the old, traditional and correct terms, *Spanish America*, *Spanish American*. What objections could any one have against this procedure?

The Americas for August contains an interesting note on the Brazilian colony of Muncão which is located in the "municípios" of Santa Barbara do Rio Pardo and Lenções. This is one of the colonies of immigrants founded by the government and under the direction of the Min-

istry of Agriculture. Muncão was founded in May, 1910, and at present has 543 families consisting of 2,843 persons, among whom are Brazilians, Japanese, Spaniards, Italians, Austrians, Germans, Portuguese, Swiss, French, Russians, and others. The colony with its various establishments has all the appearance of permanency. It actually supports a semi-monthly publication *Nucleo Moncão*, which is strictly an agricultural paper. The minister of Agriculture is establishing a farm school for abandoned boys from the city. The colony has received no government aid for several years and in accordance with the policy followed by the Brazilian government will henceforth administer its own affairs.

The same number also contains an excellent analysis of Brazil's finances which was taken from a recently published book by Ramalho Ortigao, a leading economic writer of Brazil. Sr. Ortigao sets forth clearly the factors in the present situation and makes certain very timely suggestions.

The number for September contains an article on "Railway and port construction in Brazil" in which various interesting points are brought out, as for instance "It is a well-known fact that railway construction in Brazil usually obeys political rather than economic demands".

Commerce Reports, no. 207, of Sept. 4, 1918, contains an account of the proposed Brazilian budget for 1919, this report having been made under date of July 9, by Richard P. Momsen, vice consul for the United States at Rio de Janeiro.

The President of Brazil, in a recent message to Congress, presented the following estimated budget of receipts and expenditures of the Federal Government for the year 1919, prepared by the Minister of Finance:

Receipts for the year 1919 are estimated at 95,021,034 gold milreis (about \$51,900,389 in American currency), and 405,608,000 paper milreis (about \$101,402,000 in American currency), a decrease from the voted appropriations for this year of 30,947,323 gold milreis (\$16,903,428 in American currency), and 42,805,000 paper milreis (\$10,701,250 in American currency). The decrease in the estimate of the gold budget is due to the elimination of the item relative to the revenues to be derived from the Lloyd-Brasileiro steamers, which figure in the current budget to the amount of 38,863,110 milreis. The difference in the

estimate of the paper-currency budget is due to the suppression of a sum of 60,000 contos of milreis from the item relating to the issuance of Conversion Office notes.

In the 1919 budget the revenue from taxes—which forms the largest item, viz., 63,580,000 gold milreis (\$34,727,396), and 230,478,000 paper milreis (\$57,619,500)—is estimated as follows, distributed according to source:

TAXES	GOLD MILREIS	UNITED STATES CURRENCY	PAPER MILREIS	UNITED STATES CURRENCY
Import duties.....	63,410,000	\$34,634,542	51,588,000	\$12,897,000
Internal revenue.....			124,530,000	31,132,500
Circulation tax.....	20,000	10,924	38,000,000	9,500,000
Income tax.....	150,000	81,930	16,360,000	4,090,000
Total.....	63,580,000	34,727,396	230,478,000	57,619,500

The estimate on import duties is equal to that of the 1918 budget. It seems evident from the receipts of the first semester of this year, that this item in the current budget will be fully realized.

The item of internal revenue is estimated on the basis of the levies of 1917, which amounted to 114,819,464 paper milreis (\$28,704,866), and of the estimate for 1918, viz, 121,500,000 (\$30,375,000), of which the sum of 47,868,257 (\$11,967,064), or slightly more than one-third of the total estimate, was collected during the first four months of the current year.

Income-tax receipts for 1919 are also estimated on the basis of the levies of 1917, being reduced, however, from the sum of 218,429 gold milreis (\$119,306) and 24,084,000 paper milreis (\$6,021,000) to the proposed figure of 150,000 gold milreis (\$81,930) and 16,360,000 paper milreis (\$4,090,000), largely on account of the 50 per cent reduction in taxes on salaries and subsidies.

Postal receipts for 1919 are estimated at 10,000 contos of milreis (\$2,500,000), the 1917 figure having been 9,643,271 paper milreis (\$2,410,818).

The telegraph lines are expected to yield in 1919 the sum of 800,000 gold milreis (\$346,960) and 10,000,000 paper milreis (\$2,500,000), or practically the equivalent of the receipts of 1917.

The estimated revenue to be derived from the Central Railway in 1919 is placed at 62,500,000 paper milreis (\$15,626,000), or practically the equivalent of the actual receipts of 1917.

The deposits of the Federal Government in European banks amount at the present time to £3,600,000 (\$17,500,000), which is more than enough for the exigencies of the current year.

The total expenditures for 1919 are estimated at 80,369,827 gold milreis (\$43,898,000) and 476,641,194 paper milreis (\$119,160,299), divided among the ministries as follows:

MINISTRIES	1918		1919	
	Gold milreis	U. S. currency	Gold milreis	U. S. currency
Justice and Interior.....	12,394	\$6,770	18,342	\$10,018
Foreign Relations.....	2,696,736	1,472,957	3,220,146	1,758,844
Marine.....	200,000	109,240	200,000	109,240
War.....	100,000	54,620	100,000	54,620
Railways and Public Works.	30,002,645	16,387,444	27,397,492	14,964,510
Agriculture, Industry and Commerce.....	616,680	336,831	606,680	331,369
Finance.....	50,827,629	27,762,051	48,827,167	26,669,399
Total.....	84,456,084	46,129,913	80,369,827	43,898,000
Justice and Interior.....	48,692,597	12,173,149	47,691,803	11,922,951
Foreign Relations.....	1,107,200	276,800	1,207,800	301,950
Marine.....	44,312,852	11,078,213	49,478,213	12,369,553
War.....	74,498,353	18,624,588	77,947,308	19,486,827
Railways and Public Works.	148,756,667	37,189,167	158,114,071	39,528,518
Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce.....	18,952,818	4,738,204	17,545,368	4,386,342
Finance.....	126,087,963	31,521,991	124,656,631	31,164,158
Total.....	462,408,450	115,602,112	476,641,194	119,160,299

From a comparison of the foregoing estimated receipts and expenditures, it is seen that the budget of the Brazilian Government for 1919 contemplates a deficit in paper currency of 71,033,194 milreis (\$17,758,299). This will be somewhat offset by an estimated surplus in gold currency of 14,651,207 milreis, which, when converted into paper milreis at an exchange rate of 13½d., will amount to 29,302,413 milreis (\$7,325,603), and thus will reduce the total estimated deficit to 41,730,781 milreis (\$10,432,695).

For the elimination of this deficit, no increases in taxation or new sources of revenue are proposed. The present taxes are considered already too heavy, and to increase them would be to commence sacrificing the economic resources of the country. In the opinion of Bra-

zilian officials, the elimination of the deficit is preferably to be sought in the development of the Brazilian merchant marine. The ships which were loaned to France will produce during the current year a revenue of 38,863,110 gold milreis (\$21,227,030); and the authorities hope that the activities of the Lloyd-Brasileiro steamship line may be extended in such a way as to accomplish the ultimate elimination of the deficit.

Commerce Reports for July 23 publishes a report from Homer Brett, consul for the United States, at La Guaira, relative to the Venezuelan budget for the current year. This report is as follows:

The budget of the Venezuelan Government for the fiscal year to end June 30, 1919, has been voted as follows (sums converted to American currency at normal exchange of \$0.193 to bolivar):

REVENUES	AMOUNT	EXPENDITURES	AMOUNT
Customs and consulates...	\$3,555,250	Department of the Interior.....	\$1,865,250
Liquor taxes.....	772,000	Department of Foreign Relations.....	234,075
Cigarette taxes.....	1,061,500	Department of the Treasury (includes \$1,551,300 for debt service)	2,749,850
Salt monopoly.....	1,061,500	Department of War and Navy.....	1,737,000
Stamp taxes.....	627,250	Department of Fomento (mines, fisheries, agriculture, post office, and telegraphs).....	808,950
Coal mines.....	221,950	Department of Public Works.....	616,400
Other sources.....	346,050	Department of Public Instruction.....	532,975
Treasury reserve.....	984,300	For corrections and changes.....	85,300
Total.....	8,629,800	Total.....	8,629,800

A constant and successful attempt is being made to reduce the proportion of the entire revenue that is obtained from import duties on merchandise. It is not expected that revenues will equal expenditures, but as the Government has a large surplus in the Treasury this is not even considered desirable.

Among recent circulars made public by the "Latin American" Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce, are no. 45, "The Mexican Oil Situation"; and no. 46, "The War and Peruvian Foodstuffs". From the first named, the following excerpt, which touches the very delicate point of "eminent domain" is taken:

A report issued August 25, 1918, by the Executive Department of the Mexican Government (*Informe con Justificación que rinde el Ejecutivo de la Unión, etc.*) states the present attitude of Mexico very plainly. How far this will be modified, as a result of the pending suits contesting the validity of the recent Mexican decrees of February 19, July 31, and August 12, 1918, remains to be seen. This report of August 25 is really a brief for the defense in reply to the demand, made in due form by the Petroleum Companies through the Mexican courts, for a writ of "amparo"; a special form of relief from the decrees of February 19, July 31, and August 12, which require "manifests" to be filed by Oil Companies, and impose certain "rentals" and "royalties". Vested rights are particularly threatened in Article 27 of the New Mexican Constitution of 1917, which expressly forbids any but Mexican Companies to acquire directly or operate directly petroleum lands in Mexico.

On page 7 and 8 of the August 25 report, it is claimed that Article 27 of the new Constitution is merely a resumption of the ancient right of "eminent domain," which, it is maintained, gives to Mexico perpetually the "direct ownership" of the subsoil. Consequently, any past Mexican legislation or contracts consummated according to such legislation, which made oil deposits the property of individuals, would have to be considered null and void. In other words, it is idle (page 22) "to hold against the State the existence of contracts . . . anterior to the Constitution". "Nor is there reason in this case (page 20) for an indemnity".

Article 14, however, of the new Constitution, declares that "no law shall be given retroactive effect to the prejudice of any person." That petroleum properties were legally recognized in 1884, 1892, and 1909 is a mere matter of Mexican legislative history, however it may be at variance with the recent plan of "nationalization". This may be seen by the following excerpts from the Mexican mining laws immediately preceding the new Constitution, article 14 of which precludes retroactive effect.

Article 10 of the Mexican Mining Law of November 22, 1884, states that, "the following substances are the exclusive property of the owner of the land, who may, therefore, develop and enjoy them, without the formality of claim (*denunciao*) or special adjudication . . . petroleum and gaseous springs, etc."

The mining law of June 4, 1892, states that "the owner of land may freely work, without a special franchise in any case whatsoever, the following substances: mineral fuels; oils and mineral water, etc."

The mining law of November 25, 1909, effective January 1, 1910, states, in Article 2, that "the following are the property of the owner of the soil: I. Ore bodies or deposits of mineral fuels, of whatever form or variety, etc."

Article 27, however, of the Mexican Constitution of 1917, states that "in the Nation is vested direct ownership of . . . petroleum and all hydrocarbons—solid, liquid or gaseous"; also that "only Mexicans by birth or naturalization and Mexican companies have the right to acquire ownership in lands, waters, and their appurtenances, or to obtain concessions to develop mines, waters, or mineral fuels in the Republic of Mexico. The Nation may grant the same right to foreigners, provided they agree before the Department of Foreign Affairs to be considered Mexicans in respect to such property and accordingly not to invoke the protection of their Government in respect to the same, under penalty, in case of breach, of forfeiture to the Nation of property so acquired".

On February 19, July 31, and August 12, 1918, decrees were issued making it necessary, under penalties of confiscation, for all companies, owning or leasing oil-lands in Mexico, to file new "manifests" of properties already duly registered, which "manifests" apparently constitute the first step in the "nationalization" of petroleum in Mexico. In addition to the new registry, taxes referred to as "rentals" and "royalties" were imposed, which terms in themselves concede the national ownership mentioned in Article 27 of the Constitution. Continued operation of oil lands is conditioned upon "contracts" with the Government, these contracts to be fixed by regulations yet to be issued. The failure of the oil companies to file the "manifests" according to requirements resulted in a modification of the stringency of the decree of February 19 with regard to confiscation. The export tax of 10 per cent ad valorem, moreover, after being made nearly twice as heavy for July and August as for the two preceding months, has recently been reduced by the placing of lower valuations upon the petroleum to be taxed. According to circular No. 44 of September 13, 1918, issued by the Department of the Treasury in Mexico, the following values have been assigned by the Mexican authorities as a basis for the 10 per cent export tax during July-August and September-October, 1918:

	Pesos
Fuel Oil, of density 0.91, per ton.....	13.00
Crude Oil, of density 0.91, per ton.....	15.50
Oil, of density greater than 0.97, per ton.....	6.00
Gas Oil, per ton.....	13.00
Refined Gasoline, per liter.....	0.125
Crude Gasoline, per liter.....	0.1175
Kerosene, crude or refined, per liter.....	0.04

As before, 20 centavos are to be deducted from the price fixed for each one one-hundredth increase in density, and 40 centavos to be added to the price for each one one-hundredth decrease in density. One peso is at present something more than 50 cents in United States currency. *El Economista* for September 21, 1918, quotes a peso as \$3.55 (United States Gold). At this rate fuel oil of density 0.91 is valued in our currency at \$7.15 a ton. The usual rates of conversion of tons into barrels are as follows: for Tuxpam "crude oil" (0.93 specific gravity), 6.7 barrels to the metric ton; for Tuxpam "fuel oil" (0.949 specific gravity), 6.5 bbls. to the ton; for Panuco "crude" (0.98 specific gravity), 6 bbls. to the ton. The conversion rate for density 0.91 would thus be about 7 barrels to the ton, making fuel oil of this grade come to \$1.02 (United States currency) per barrel, and the tax, 10 cents per barrel. The density of ordinary Mexican fuel oil, how-

ever, is 0.95. Making all the proper deductions, fuel oil of this grade is valued by the Mexican authorities at \$6.71 per ton or \$1.03 (United States currency) per barrel, and the tax likewise 10 cents per barrel. According to the figures ruling before the recent change of September 13, the tax on this grade of oil was about 12 cents. The actual selling price of ordinary fuel oil in Mexico (free on board ship at Tampico) appears to range from 43 to 78 cents per barrel, according to density and per cent of gasoline content. The lower prices pertain to heavier oil with a small per cent of gasoline. Heavy Panuco, for instance, of about 0.98 density (12° Baumé), sold at 25 cents per barrel (f.o.b. Tampico) on July 1, 1918. Even Tuxpam crude of 0.93 density has been recently quoted as low as 43 cents per barrel at Tampico, although the usual price is higher. The highest price recently obtained for Tuxpam fuel oil of 0.95 density was 78½ cents, but this appears to have occurred in only one consignment.

Such is a brief statement of the significant facts. To this must be added, together with the protests of England, Holland, and France, the protest issued by the United States, through Ambassador Fletcher, on April 2, 1918, which declares that "the United States cannot acquiesce in any procedure ostensibly or nominally in the form of taxation or the exercise of eminent domain, but really resulting in confiscation of private property and arbitrary deprivation of vested rights."

An analysis of the immigration law passed several months ago by both houses of the Peruvian Congress is contained in the *Commerce Reports* no. 171, July 23. This bill which is intended to protect society against the abuses prevailing hitherto, provides that no foreigners, deficient mentally, morally, or physically, will be admitted into Peru. The executive power will regulate the control of the admission and the exclusion of foreigners and will issue detailed instructions to the maritime or border authorities charged with the duty of examining applicants for admission. Any foreigner who is refused admission may make a verbal or written application to a higher authority in the maritime or frontier court, and this application will be immediately transmitted to a board composed of a judge, a municipal official, and a port official, which will give a hearing and render a decision within 48 hours.

The expense of the process of exclusion and return of the foreigner shall be placed to the account of the party conducting it, provided the objection to entry is manifest. Foreigners entering the territory through fraud in violation of law may be expelled. Any order for the expulsion of foreigners may be issued only in a council of ministers with a statement of reasons. Foreigners will be allowed 3 to 15 days to leave the territory, and if they fail to leave within this period they will be expelled by the police authorities.

The new Mexican Department of Industry, Commerce, and Labor, with offices in the City of Mexico, is under the direction of Alberto J. Pani, an engineer of note in Mexico, who has made an excellent study on sanitation in the City of Mexico. The new Department, as outlined in *Commerce Reports* (no. 222 of September 21) is divided into four sections, namely, internal commerce, external commerce, insurance, and publications and statistics.

Commerce Reports of October 7 (no. 235) contains an account of two new government departments created by decree of July 2 in Venezuela. These are a Department of Mines and a Department of Common Lands, Industries, and Commerce. Of these the above publication says: "By a decree promulgated July 2, Venezuela established two new departments in the Ministerio de Fomento—a Department of Mines and a Department of Common Lands, Industries, and Commerce. The Department of Mines will have control over mining investigations, the acquisition and working of mines and metalliferous deposits, and of other substances which, although not coming under these headings, require special concessions from the Government for their exploitation; the administration of the mines which the National Government exploits for its own account; the technical inspection of mines; sample collections of minerals; the national laboratory; the exemption from customs duties of articles intended for mining operations; and the publication of the *Bulletin of the Ministerio de Fomento*. The scope of the work of the Department of Lands, Industries, and Commerce, is defined as follows: Contracts connected with uncultivated lands, agriculture, cattle breeding, colonization, agricultural and fishery enterprises; protection of agriculture; model farms; experiment stations and agricultural laboratories; distribution of seeds gratis; conservation of national woods; forestry stations; sericulture; apiculture; aviculture; cattle rearing; immigration and establishment of agencies abroad in connection therewith; colonization, agricultural and fishery congresses; meteorological stations; and compilation of census statistics. It will also deal with contracts relative to the establishment of industries; the issuance of stamps for payment of industrial taxes; exhibitions and sample shows of industrial products; patents of invention; permanent exhibition of Venezuelan inventors' models; exemption from customs duties of articles required in connection with agricultural development and industrial contracts; banks, chambers of commerce; and trademark registration."

The Chile and Northern News Association is the name of an organization that has lately been formed by Americans who are interested in a business way in Chile, and who want to have a permanent medium of promoting good relations between North and South America. Members of the Association have felt that conscious efforts ought to be made to make the Chilean students feel at home while in the United States. In order to effect this, one of the objects of the organization is to coöperate with the different societies or organizations which are encouraging the movement of students from Hispanic American countries to the United States.

Mr. Charles M. Pepper, who is widely known as journalist, author, and traveler, has lately connected himself with the Chile and Northern News Association. Mr. Pepper has had abundant experience with Hispanic American peoples and countries. During the Cuban insurrection he acted as the representative of the *Washington Star*, and a syndicate of leading papers. In 1901-1902, he served as one of the United States delegates to the Pan American conference in Mexico, being appointed in that capacity by President McKinley. He later visited Mexico, Central America, and all the countries of South America except two as special commissioner to investigate the Pan American Railroad project, and was appointed a member of the Permanent Pan-American Railway Committee. In 1905, Mr. Pepper became connected with the Department of Commerce and Labor, for which he made several journeys to countries of Hispanic America, and wrote many economic reports. From 1909 to 1913, he was foreign trade adviser in the Department of State, and upon his resignation from that capacity in the latter year, again visited South America. Among his books on Hispanic America are *To-morrow in Cuba* (1899), and *Panama to Patagonia* (1906), the latter of which is a study of the economic effects of the Panama Canal on South American commerce and civilization.

Two changes have occurred recently in the staff of the Hispanic Society of America: Professor E. C. Hills, its librarian, has accepted the charge of the Department of Romance Languages of the University of Indiana; and Dr. Ralph E. House, curator of Printed Books, has accepted an appointment as Assistant Professor of Spanish at the University of Minnesota. Professor Hills was located at Colorado College before going to the Hispanic Society Library.

Dr. Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., of the Historical Department of the State University of Louisiana, has been appointed District Director of the War Issues Course of the S. A. T. C., and will serve in that capacity until the end of the war. Dr. Bonham's headquarters are at Nashville, Tennessee.

The Board of Directors of the Sociedad Geográfica de Lima consists of the following gentlemen: President, José Balta, mining engineer, professor in the School of Engineers, and deputy to Congress; first vice president, Solón Polo, a lawyer; second vice president, F. Alaiza y Paz Soldán, civil and mining engineer; inspector of the library, José T. Polo, historian; treasury inspector, H. Hope Jones, of Graham Rowe and Co.

Sr. Ricardo Beltran y Rozpide, of the Real Academia de la Historia, under date of Madrid, June 15, 1918, writes in a small folder of "Cristóbal Colón y la Fiesta de la Raza" (Christopher Columbus and the Festival of the Race). In it he says: "On October 12, Spain will celebrate a national holiday called 'The Festival of the Race'. This is already a holiday in most of the Hispanic American states, (quoting the Peruvian Congress) as an 'homage to the Spanish nation and to Christopher Columbus'; and (quoting a recent declaration of the Argentinian Executive), as 'an homage to Spain, the progenitor of nations, to which it has given with the leaven of its blood and the harmony of its speech, an immortal inheritance'. This is the festival of the Hispanic race which is celebrated on that day of the year on which the Spanish navigators under the direction of Christopher Columbus and the Pinzons sighted the first land of the West Indies. Everything was Spanish in that mighty enterprise, for even Columbus himself . . . considered himself so much a native of these kingdoms that apart from the Latin which he used on some occasions, he always spoke and wrote Spanish. Quite rightly a distinguished Colombian orator, Antonio Gómez Restrepo, said in speaking on the occasion of the festival of the race in 1917 at Bogotá, that Spanish was the language employed by Columbus 'even in those most intimate and personal matters that are set down only in the language that has been learned and spoken from the cradle. In Spanish he related the incidents of his portentous voyages in the form of a diary; in Spanish his letters are written; in Spanish was written that curious book of the Prophecies which reveal to us how far the exaltation of his spirit carried that man of suchprac-

tical and positive common sense. Columbus did not employ the language of Dante in the decisive moments of his life, which had at that time reached its classical perfection, but the vigorous, energetic, and even rude language [of Spain]. . . .” Continuing, the author notes that the Italian form “Colombo” never appears on the official documents, on the royal cédulas, provisions, titles, agreements, memorials, and letters relative to Columbus, but only Spanish forms of the name, such as “Colon”, “Colomo”, and “Colom”. It may be true that the names “Colombo” in Italy, “Coullon” in France, and “Colón” in Spain are the same name. The author grants this, but continues: “That may be so. But the unquestionable fact is that Christopher Columbus until the very last moment of his life, preferred to be called ‘Colón’ according to the Spanish fashion instead of ‘Colombo’ according to the Italian fashion”. Columbus, therefore, he concludes rightly occupies the foremost place in the Festival of the Spanish Race.

Dr. Robert C. Clark, who spent the spring and summer in Washington where he was engaged in the work of the Committee on Public Information in connection with the War Cyclopedia, has returned to the University of Oregon, to take charge of the Department of History in the absence of Professor Joseph Schafer. Dr. Clark will direct the War Issues Course to the S. A. T. C. men. In normal times he has given successful courses in Hispanic American history as well as in European history.

Dr. C. H. Haring, of Yale University, has recently returned from a trip to South America, where he traveled extensively.

Dr. C. L. Chandler, of the Southern Railway and author of *Inter-American Acquaintances*, has recently returned from Europe.

Mr. J. E. Philippi, who has had many years experience in commercial lines in Hispanic America has been appointed Commercial Attaché in Brazil for the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce of the United States. For a number of years he was Export Manager for the Borden Condensed Milk Co.

The same Bureau announces the appointment of Mr. W. F. Montavon as Commercial Attaché in Spain. Mr. Montavon was formerly connected with the Philippine service and for the last few years was Commercial Attaché along the west coast of South America. [Later information is that Mr. Montavon has resigned from government service to enter the employ of an oil concern on the west coast of South America.]

The President of the American Historical Association was lately appointed representative for the United States with the title of "advisory member" Permanent Council of the American Congress of Bibliography and History. The headquarters of the Council are in Buenos Aires, and the appointment is an echo of the Congress held in that city in 1916. The great object of the Council is a closer union among historical students of the American continents.

Dr. William Lytle Schurz, who gives courses in Hispanic American history in the University of Michigan, taught in the summer schools of Texas and Kansas Universities in the past summer. He is at present on leave of absence from the University of Michigan and has been assigned to work in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in connection with the Colonel House Inquiry.

The catalogue of Michigan University for 1917-1918 announced the following courses by Dr. William Lytle Schurz;

51. The History of "Latin America." This course deals with the European background of Spanish and Portuguese America, the conquest, the native civilizations, and the institutions and life of the colonial period. A reading knowledge of Spanish is recommended. Lectures and quizzes; three hours per week.

55. The Spaniards in North America. This course deals particularly with the history of the Spanish occupation of Mexico and with Spanish settlements in the present territory of the United States; also with the development of republican Mexico. Lectures and quizzes; three hours per week. Omitted in 1917-1918.

This course was continued in the second semester as no. 52, dealing with the republican period of Hispanic America. Stress is laid on the present-day conditions, political, social, and economic, and upon the relations of the republics with the United States.

All these courses were designed for upperclassmen and graduates.

Under its Spanish section, the catalogue announces a course by Mr. Del Toro, as follows:

19. "Latin-American" Relations. Lectures, assigned readings, reports, and quizzes in Spanish. This course is designed to increase the student's practical knowledge of Spanish and at the same time to give him general information regarding the "Latin-American" countries. It does not in any way conflict with the courses in Spanish American history. Three hours per week during the first semester. Continued during the second semester as course no. 20.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

RECENT ACQUISITIONS OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS MAINLY TREATING OF MEXICO IN REVOLUTION

The Library of Congress has recently acquired through an agent in Mexico a special lot of books dealing largely with historical and political aspects of the revolution. The following titles are given as possessing special interest for the students of the revolutionary period:

- Acerete, Albino: *Evolución histórica de las relaciones políticas entre México y Yucatán*. México, Imp. Müller Hermanos, 1907. Pp. xxiii, 124, 2 l.
- Anuario constitucionalista. Puebla, Empresa Comercial y Editora "La Nacional", 1916. Pp. 228. Illustrated, portraits.
- Castillo, José R. del: *Historia de la revolución social de México*. 1.a etapa: *La caída del General Díaz*. México, 1915. Pp. 320.
- Decretos y demás disposiciones del Ejército Constitucionalista; Febrero 19 de 1913 a Abril 30 de 1914. Chihuahua, Imprenta del Gobierno, 1914. Pp. 103.
- Enríquez, Antonio: *Dictadura presidencial o parlamentarismo democrático*. México, Imprenta A. Enríquez, 1913. Pp. 193, 1 l.
- Estrada, Roque: *La revolución y Francisco I. Madero*. Guadalajara, Talleres de la Imprenta Americana, 1912. 2 p. l, pp. iii, 1 l., pp. 502.
- Fernández Rojas, J., and Melgarejo, Randolph, L.: *Hombres y hechos del constitucionalismo*. México, Ediciones "Vida Mexicana", 1916. 3 p. l., pp. 9-266, 1 l.
- Fernández Rojas, José: *La revolución mexicana de Porfirio Díaz a Victoriano Huerta, 1910-1913*. México, F. P. Rojas & Cía., 1913. Pp. 361. Plates; portraits.
- Figueroa Domenech, J.: *Veinte meses de anarquía; segunda parte de "La Revolución y sus héroes; crónica de los sucesos políticos ocurridos en México desde Julio de 1911 a Febrero de 1913"*. México, 1913. Pp. 283. Frontispiece; plates; portraits.
- Gamio, Manuel: *Forjando patria (pronacionalismo)*. México. Porrúa Hermanos, 1916. Pp. viii, 323, [5].
- Guzmán, Martín Luis: *La querrela de México*. Madrid, Imprenta Clásica Española, 1915. 1 p. l., pp. [5]-71, [1].
- Mallén, Francisco: *Los Estados Unidos del Norte y las repúblicas del Sur*. Panamá, Imprenta Ramos, 1914. Pp. 21.
- Manero, Antonio: *Qué es la revolución*. . . . Breve exposición sobre las principales causas de la revolución constitucionalista en México. Veracruz, Tip: "La Heroica", 1915. Pp. 120, lxxvi, [4].
- Por el honor y por la gloria; cincuenta editoriales escritos durante la lucha revolucionaria constitucionalista en Veracruz. México (?), Imprenta I. Escalante, S. A., 1916. Pp. 193, [2].

- Núñez de Prado, G.: *Revolución de México; la decena trágica*. Barcelona, F. Granada y Comp.a; México, S. Petisme, [n.d.]. Pp. 317.
- Palavicini, Félix F. ed.: *El primer jefe*. México, Imprenta "La Helvetia", [1915 ?]. Pp. 260, 1 l. Portrait.
- Parra, Gonzalo de la: *De como se hizo revolucionario de buena fe*. México, 1915. Pp. 195, [5].
- Pazuengo, Matías: *Historia de la revolución en Durango*. Cuernavaca, Tip. del Gobierno del Estado, 1915. 1 p. l., pp. 113, [2].
- Prida, Ramón: *De la dictadura a la anarquía*. Apuntes para la historia política de México durante los últimos cuarenta y tres años. El Paso, Texas, Imprenta de "El Paso del Norte", 1914. Pp. 365.
- La revolución constitucionalista, los Estados Unidos y el "A. B. C."; recopilación de documentos y artículos notables. . . . México, Talleres tipográficos de "Revista de revistas", 1916. Pp. vi, 1 l., pp. 301, 1 l. Portraits.
- Santibañez, Enrique: *Estudios de historia nacional contemporánea: el ejecutivo y su labor política*. México, 1916. Pp. 499.
- Serrano, T. F.: *Episodios de la revolución en México*. El Paso, Texas, Madera Printing Co., 1911. Pp. 316.
- Trejo Lerdo de Tejada, C.: *La revolución y el nacionalismo, todo para todos*. Habana, Imprenta "La Estrella", 1916. Pp. 266.
- Zayas, Enríquez, Rafael de: *El caso de México y la política del Presidente Wilson*. Mexico, 1914. 2 p. l., pp. [3]-180. Frontispiece; portraits.

C. K. JONES.

SUGGESTIONS FOR, AND ADVANTAGES OF, A PAN-AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION

Because of its general interest, this paper, which was sent to the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress by Señor Carlos Silva Cruz, Director of the Biblioteca Nacional at Santiago de Chile, is presented here in full. It has been taken from a pamphlet entitled *La "Asociación Bibliográfica Pan-Americana" por menos de la Unión Pan-Americana de Bibliotecas Nacionales* (Santiago de Chile, Imprenta Universitaria, 1915). The English translation appearing here is, with some few changes, that made by "the eminent anthropologist Mr. Richard E. Latham, of Santiago de Chile."

Historical students all agree as to the necessity for greater bibliographical facilities in a study of Hispanic America. Señor Silva Cruz touches upon a very vital matter, and it is very clear that some coöperative effort in which all the countries in the Americas were to have a share, would be productive of good results. Considerable might be done by the National Libraries and the Universities of each country, each

working in harmony with all the others. The Library of Congress of the United States has produced some notable bibliographical works already as has also the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The annual Griffin bibliography might also serve as a basis for work along similar line in other countries. As pointed out in the paper given below, current material of the various countries should be more quickly brought to the attention of the reading and student world. The ignorance of Americans, North or South, regarding the countries of the western hemisphere, it is patent, needs to be dispelled. Happily various organizations are working toward that end.

I

The difficulties of communication between the different countries of America have been, during the whole of the nineteenth century, as Chinese walls, that isolated them one from the others in everything related to spiritual life. Their fountains of inspiration were beyond the seas. Their sources of information in everything intellectual, especially those of the Latin countries, were principally in Spain and France, more in France than in Spain.

The greater part of the educated persons in Chile that know anything of the United States, of its mind, habits, psychology, etc., know it only through European books, that is to say through a European medium. The descriptions, nearly always fantastical, and the rapid and superficial impressions of those tourists that visit us from the other side of the Atlantic, are in general the spectacles through which the peoples of America see each other.

Although latterly the communications have been greatly facilitated by means of international railways and new maritime routes, these Chinese walls have still been solidly maintained, kept from falling on the one hand by tradition and habit, and on the other by the want of mutual permanent and organized bibliographic information, the want of organized Pan-American distribution of books, and the want of direct and intimate relations between the authors, editors, booksellers, and public libraries of the different countries of America.

Any effort made to remedy this state of affairs would be a great Pan-American work, because any commercial and political drawing together, in order to be solid and of mutual benefit, requires, as a previous condition, an intellectual approximation, and this is only obtained by mutual knowledge and understanding.

The efforts in favor of this mutual knowing of each other, realized by travelers, lecturers, interchange of professors, and even by International Congresses, although very deserving and efficacious at the given moment, are nevertheless not sufficient, as they are wanting in continuity. The only permanent work, slow but sure, is that which is carried out by publishing organs, such as books, periodicals, reviews, etc., which are the constant expounders of the mind and activity of each country. These would carry from day to day, from one end of the continent to the other, the daily vibrations of the thoughts and sentiments of the people who inhabit them; and may make of *Pan-Americanism* not only a simple expression but also a living reality.

Unfortunately, it is an undeniable fact that, in intellectual things, we American countries are even more distant, one from the other, than in all other classes of activity.

This fact, which is known by all those in America who read, study, or observe the life of the continent, is confirmed mathematically by statistical figures.

The total number of publications consulted in the central reading room of the Chilean National Library, during 1912 (the first year in which the statistics were kept by nationalities) was 47,311, including books, pamphlets, reviews, and periodicals.

Divided into nationalities, this total gives 20,618 for national literature and 26,693 for that of foreign countries; and of the latter 11,366 for French literature; 9,160 for Spanish; and only 1,396 for all the American countries combined.

That is to say that, of the foreign works read by the public of Santiago in their principal Library, during the year, 43 per cent were French, 34 per cent Spanish, and only 5 per cent American.

Of every 100 readers, only five asked for books that originated in American countries; or, in other terms, only one American book was read for 7 Spanish and 8 French.

In the following years the statistical figures offer analogous results.

In 1913 the total consultations in the central reading room were 68,612, of which 33,034 were Chilean printed matter and 35,578 foreign. Of the latter, 15,191 were French publications, 12,166 Spanish, and 2,305 American. Accordingly, French literature was represented by 42 per cent of the total of foreign printed matter read, the Spanish by 34 per cent and the American by 6 per cent or one American publication for each 6 Spanish and 7 French.

In 1914 the total was 126,704 publications, of which 52,356 were Chilean and 73,348 foreign. French literature was represented by 28,910, or 36 per cent of the foreign total, Spanish by 23,820 or 31 per cent, and American by 7,781 or 10 per cent; which signifies one American book for each 3 Spanish or 4 French.

The slight reaction noted in 1914 was doubtless owing to the organised propaganda carried out by the National Library, whose Section of Information and *Revista de Bibliografía* have lately done all that was possible to make known amongst us American literatures, in the small measure that such a vast work could be carried out by the isolated efforts of one library.

These figures are a sure enough index of the attention which the ordinary reader in Chile pays to the intellectual productions of each one of the foreign countries; reveals his knowledge of the divers literatures; and shows the present state of his relations with the different centres of mental production.

Is this lamentable fact, proved by the eloquence of numbers, as regards Chile, by the National Library, common to the other countries of America?

Everything leads us to believe so because it is derived from atavistic educational causes, from deep-rooted secular traditions which make American countries look, in a cultural way, as in commercial and financial things, much more towards the nations of Europe than to their neighbors of the same continent.

It is desirable, nevertheless, not only in order to prove the exactness of this fact but also to appreciate its extent and obtain knowledge of its details, that all the other public libraries of America should keep similar statistics, and that their results should be published or mutually made known by means of an Association, such as farther on I propose.

It is also desirable that an investigation should be made among booksellers, in order to know the tendency of the vast reading public that do not make use of public libraries but buy the books they read. This investigation should be in charge of the National Library of each country.

Bibliographical investigations such as those proposed are current in some countries. Some time ago the Japanese Legation in Chile undertook such an one by request of the Ministry of Public Instruction of the Empire; and in America they are absolutely necessary if we wish

to fathom with any exactitude the greater or lesser degree of intellectual consolidation that unites the peoples of the continent.

Besides these facts, proved by statistics, there are others whose evident existence is an axiom to all those in America who occupy themselves with intellectual matters.

If an *author*, in any of the cities of the United States, publishes a work whose theme is a little more than merely local, he knows that it will be easy for him to obtain its circulation throughout the country and to count on its sale in the forty-eight states of the Union and also in the Colonies, that is to say throughout an area in which live one hundred million individuals that speak the language in which the work is written: English.

But if in one of the "Latin-American" cities an author brings forth a work of importance and of general interest, he, on the contrary, knows that it will be materially impossible to obtain its ample circulation outside of his own country, which is the only part where he can count on a sale; in other words, a territory inhabited by two, four or six million persons, at the utmost.

Under the same conditions of importance and interest of the publication, if the first can produce an edition of thirty, forty, or fifty thousand copies, the second can scarcely edit two or three thousand.

Nevertheless, the Latin-American countries of the same or similar speech (Spanish or Portuguese) occupy an area inhabited by seventy million individuals—an area which, with an efficient organization, could give the authors a sufficient market to produce an edition of from fifteen, to twenty thousand, instead of two or three.

Let us put ourselves, for the moment, in the case of the *investigator*. How many difficulties, how many troubles has he to go through to find out what has been published in his own and other countries of the continent on the subject of his researches!

Special bibliographies, even of recent works, are entirely wanting or, if they exist, it is impossible to obtain them at a given moment. One does not even know of whom to obtain them.

Even the official documentation—on matters of legislation, jurisprudence, organization, and actual work of the public institutions, statistics and administrative, commercial, or industrial movement—is extremely scarce in each country, in regards to the rest, not excluding the immediate neighbors.

In general it may be said that the only practical means of obtaining documents for any study related to the various countries of America is, under the present state of things, a personal trip through such countries; a case which is hardly ever feasible for the investigator.

What I have said respecting *authors* and *investigators* will also hold good as regards *the general reader*, who, in our countries, has every kind of facility for obtaining European books, even the most insignificant, but finds all kinds of difficulties when he desires to obtain or read even the most important of American books or publications.

I can affirm, through personal knowledge, after innumerable conversations and with the experience obtained in the post which I occupy in the National Library, that, in Chile, the scientific, literary, and artistic movement of the Argentine Republic (a country with which we have a common boundary of 2,400 miles) is far less known than that of any European country of some importance.

With identical personal experience I can affirm the same thing regarding the knowledge which educated persons in Chile have of North American science, literature, or art.

But this ignorance is mutual and well repaid. This I can also personally affirm, by experience acquired in Buenos Aires during the Scientific Congress of 1910, and in the United States, during the Pan-American Exhibition held at Buffalo, where, for almost all the visitors to our building, it was a great surprise that there were other exhibits besides minerals and saltpetre, such as paintings, sculpture, and books.

I am not afraid of being mistaken if I say that the greater part of the delegates to this Congress can testify to a similar experience and conviction.

II

This situation requires a quick and active remedy, if we sincerely desire to form a *Pan-American spirit and sentiment*, the only solid and enduring basis for the linking together of the continent. And the institutions that, in my opinion, are most fitted to make an efficient effort in this respect are the National Libraries of the different countries of America, united in a common action and a permanent organization.

The National Library of each American Republic, by virtue of tradition and of legal dispositions relating to printed matter and copy-

right, is the compulsory deposit of all the literary production of the country; day by day all the manifestations of national activity gradually fill its cases, and it can thus become the ablest exponent and the best agent in making known this activity to other countries, by simply reflecting outwardly what is daily archived in its interior.

Our own Library, for instance, contains in its Section of Manuscripts nearly all the historical documents of the country that refer to the colonial epoch, to the period of emancipation, and to a great part of its independent life; many of the best known of our national investigators and writers have donated to it all their private documents; in the section of Chilean Publications, are to be found all the books and papers printed in the country, and the complete collection of all the newspapers, periodicals, and reviews, from the first number of each one; in its "Legal deposit" and in its "Register of artistic and literary possessions", are received day by day not only these books, pamphlets and periodical publications, but also the music printed in the country, the maps, plans, and reproductions of painting, sculpture, and other works of art; by virtue of the same legal dispositions and of the necessity of increasing its collections, it is in constant relations with the booksellers, editors, and printers of the whole Republic, and its exchange list places it in contact with the most important foreign universities and libraries; its *Revista de Bibliografía* and its "Information Section" put it in contact with the authors, students, and booklovers. It is also the home of numerous academies, and literary, scientific, and artistic societies; in its halls are constantly to be found those occupied in research work; here also are held numerous courses of foreign languages, and in the Central Salon hardly a day passes without public lectures on the most varied themes, in which the most eminent literary men, artists, professional men, scientists, writers, and historians take active part.

These circumstances convert the Chilean National Library into a cultural centre which reflects all the intellectual activity of the country; and this makes it especially fit to make known this activity to other countries of the continent, and also theirs in Chile.

Why should not this task be fulfilled? Why can it not be carried out by other National Libraries, whose facilities and activities are surely not inferior to ours?

Common action becomes imperious, and would make fruitful many efforts which, being isolated, are sterile. Our *Revista de Bibliografía Chilena y Extranjera*, for instance, started with the general aim of

giving foreign bibliographical information, but having principally in view mutual Pan-American information, has only been able to fulfill this primordial purpose in an imperfect manner, precisely on account of the want of a continental bibliographical organization. Its "American Section" should be the most complete; but is, however, much poorer than the European one, because of the almost insurmountable difficulties which it encounters in finding out from one month to another what has been published in America.

The resolution of the National Libraries of all the American countries to combine in a "Pan-American Bibliographical Union", correctly organized on a practical and expeditious basis, would produce, in intellectual grounds, similar advantages to those brought about in the commercial and political field by the "Pan-American Union", of Washington.

It would be necessary above all to create, in the National Library of each one of the countries of the continent, a "Central Bureau or Office of Pan-American Bibliographical Information".

This Office would supply to the other libraries of the country, to its universities, colleges, administrative offices, and to the public in general, all the data that were solicited respecting the history, geography, political organization, statistics, and the literary, scientific, or artistic production of any of the other countries of America.

To be able to supply these data, each "Central Office of Pan-American Bibliographical Information" should possess a complete fund of adequate documentation, classified and catalogued in such a manner as to make its consultation quick and easy.

The systems of classification and cataloguing should be uniform in all the offices, so that information may be interchangeable. The choice of these systems would naturally be a matter of common agreement; but, if I may be permitted, I should like to recommend the cataloguing by means of cards placed in double order—alphabetical and matter treated; in accordance with the decimal classification adopted by the Bibliographical Congress of Brussels; a system used with excellent results in our Library, from the time when, according to a vote of the first Pan-American Scientific Congress, it was adopted in Chile, by a decree of the Minister of Public Instruction, Jorge Huneeus G.

How could each National Library obtain the documentation necessary for its Office of Pan-American Bibliographical Information? By means of the other National Libraries which would form part of

the Union. Each one of them would be required to supply to all the others the documentation referring to its own country; for which purpose, each Government would dictate the necessary regulations. This interchange, in the charge of special offices, such as the National Libraries, would always result much more constant and efficacious than the direct exchange from one Government to another, as is established in some treaties.

Besides this, each office would have charge of the formation and opportune remittance of complete monthly bibliographies of its respective country, if possible printed, or at any rate in shorthand or typewritten copies. There should be included in these bibliographies:

1. A complete review of all the books and pamphlets published during the month, including the index and other information necessary to form a general idea of their contents and importance.

2. The summaries of the reviews published during the same period, also with the indispensable notes.

3. A list of such articles as are of permanent value or of Pan-American importance, published in the periodicals, and

4. A review of the new music published or performed, of the dramatic productions brought out, and the principal works of art exhibited.

These monthly bibliographies should be calculated to give a complete idea of the scientific, literary, and artistic movement of the country during the month; including all such indications as would be necessary, for persons interested, to be able, from whatever part of the continent they may be in, to obtain the books and other publications of which notice is given in them.

The third function of each Office, would be to provide investigators that required them, data referring to the archives and sources of historical investigation of any other kind; or the names and addresses of such persons as could give such data, and in general all that is necessary to facilitate investigation in other countries to students at home, and to put into mutual communication those who are following similar studies in different parts of the continent.

The fourth, and one of the most important missions of the Pan-American Union of National Libraries, would be the organization of an international commerce of books within the boundaries of the con-

tinent. Each one of the Central Offices of Bibliographical Information would be in close connection with the best known and most respectable booksellers of its respective country, for the effects of propagation and sale of the books sent from other American Republics, and also for the placing of reviews.

So as to give an effective guarantee to authors or editors, the control would always remain in the hands of the respective National Library, which could exercise it directly in the capital, and by means of delegates in the provinces.

All books would be sent direct from library to library. The receiving library would place them in the bookstores, would supervise the sale and collect the proceeds and unsold books. The Libraries would open a mutual current account, and all balances, after compensation, would be paid by draft, half yearly or yearly.

This plan, duly regulated and carried into effect with a practical spirit, would open up a new horizon to American intellectual production, especially in the Latin [*i.e.*, Hispanic] countries, and would place at the disposal of authors and editors a market ten or twenty times greater than that which at present is open to them. It would probably create, in Latin America, a *productive* career for men of science and men of letters.

These would be the principal tasks of the "Offices of Pan-American Bibliographical Information" and in general of the "Pan-American Union of National Libraries".

Each Office would operate in connection with its respective Library, under its immediate control and responsibility.

The National Library in each country would then be the central organ of Pan-American bibliographical information, and of inter-American circulation of literary and scientific productions.

The different National Libraries of America would then be in direct, mutual, and constant communication with each other as regards all the functions of their respective Offices of Pan-American Information, and each National Library would be at the same time in contact for the same effects, with the other libraries and with the institutions, authors, editors, and the public of its respective country.

The details of this organization would naturally be determined by international agreement.

III

The restricted proportions of a study, destined to be read in a Scientific Congress, do not allow me to enter into details regarding the project that I have sketched on general lines in the foregoing pages, in the hope that the members of this Congress will attribute it the importance which it presents to my mind.

I sincerely believe that the "Pan-American Union of National Libraries", carried out with faith and a true coöperative and fraternal spirit, organized with scrupulous care and duly fostered by the respective Governments and peoples, would be an effective and important contribution in favor of a more *American* inspiration of the intellect of the continent.

The National Library of Chile, and all its staff, would be ready to assume the responsibilities and to carry out enthusiastically the task which would fall to their lot in the realization of this idea; and I am convinced that in all sister institutions the same disposition will prevail.

In the conviction that this project is of sufficient importance to merit the vote of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, I permit myself to formulate the idea in the following terms—which may advantageously be modified by any of the members of the Congress:

"The Second Pan-American Scientific Congress resolves to recommend to the Governments of the countries represented in it, the creation of a 'Pan-American Bibliographical Union', constituted by the coöperative association of the National Libraries of the said countries.

"In each National Library there will be established a 'Central Bureau of Pan-American Bibliographical Information'.

"The object of these Bureaus, and of the Pan-American Bibliographical Union in general, will be to supply all the necessary means to facilitate intellectual interchange between the countries represented by them.

"The Union will perform its functions under the auspices of the respective Governments, which, by common agreement, will regulate its organization and working."

Santiago de Chile, November 1915.

NOTES

Carlos Silva Vildósola, in his volume *Le Chile et la guerre* (Paris, F. Alcan, 1917), which was translated from the Spanish by Cardozo de Bethencourt and which is one of the volumes of the series "Bibliothèque France-Amérique", contains chapters on the following matters: 1. La situation économique en 1914; 2. La crise provoquée par la guerre; 3. Les Allemands et la neutralité du Chili; 4. La défense économique; 5. Le maintien de la neutralité; 6. L'influence allemande; 7. La guerre et l'opinion; 8. Les États-Unis au Chili; 9. Le nationalisme chilien; 10. La prospérité actuelle du Chili. A quotation from chapter 8 is interesting: 'Dorénavant, en effet, rien ne pourra arrêter l'essor formidable du commerce américain qui déborde sur le continent tout entier, pendant que l'Europe consume ses forces dans une œuvre de dévastation. Qui pourrait empêcher les énormes capitaux que la guerre fait naître aux États-Unis de chercher un emploi lucratif dans nos républiques, pour le plus grand profit de ces dernières et pour le plus grand avantage de l'influence américaine? Et, d'autre part, n'est-il pas naturel que les courants intellectuels latino-américains, surtout en matière d'éducation se dirigent vers les États-Unis, pays démocratique et pays neuf, comme les nôtres, pour lui demander des directions à suivre, des modèles à imiter et des institutions à emprunter?—C. K. JONES.

[Translation: In the future, in fact, nothing will be able to stop the tremendous swing of the American commerce which is developing in all parts of the continent while Europe is spending its strength in a work of devastation. Who will be able to prevent the vast capital which the war is fathering in the United States from seeking lucrative employment in our republics which will be to the greatest profit of the republics themselves and to the greatest advantage of American influence? And, on the other side, is it not natural for the generality of intellectual Latin Americans [*i.e.*, Hispanic Americans], especially in matters pertaining to education, to address the United States—a new and democratic country like our own are—to ask them for directions to follow, models to imitate, and institutions to borrow?]

España y América; proyecciones y problemas derivados de la guerra (Madrid, Casa Editorial Calleja, 1917), by Rodrigo Zárate, is a study of the economic relations of Spain and America.—C. K. JONES.

José P. Otero, in *La revolution argentine, 1810-1816* (Paris, Editions Bossard, 1917), gives a good analysis of the period covered. The subject matter is arranged in the following chapters: 1. L'absolutisme es-

pagnol en Amérique; 2. La conquête et la colonisation a la Plata; 3. La création de la vice-royauté; 4. Crise politique de la vice-royauté; 5. Synthèse de la vie et de la civilisation coloniale; 6. La révolution; 7. La junte politique; 8. Le Triumverat et l'Assemblée générale constituante; 9. Le Directoire et le Congrès de Tucuman; 10. Le clergé et la liberté.—C. K. JONES.

La Constitución de los Estados Unidos como instrumento de dominación plutocrática (Madrid, Editorial-América, [1917?]), by Carlos Peireyra, and which is volume XXIII. of the series "Biblioteca de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales", treats of the following matters: (1) Los orígenes históricos de la constitución federal; (2) El funcionamiento real de las instituciones políticas—(a) Los partidos, su historia y su significación como representantes de las fuerzas sociales; (b) La moral política; (c) La ciudadela de los privilegios; (3) Notas directas de una campaña electoral (1912)—(a) La tierra prometida de la democracia; (b) Pronósticos para noviembre; (c) Un juego que se complica; (d) Manchas de petróleo; (e) La filosofía del atentado personal; (f) Cifras, cheques y hombres; (g) Agua de rosas; (h) La familia presidencial; (i) La anatomía del voto público; (j) Una noche de Santa Valpurgio en Broadway; (k) La reelección de Mr. Wilson (1916); (4) Apéndice.—C. K. JONES.

The February number of *Iberia* (Barcelona) is dedicated to America and its relation to the European war. Among the interesting articles are the following: "Europa en América", by Román Jori; "Europa, América y Germania", by Miguel de Unamuno; "El espíritu latino", by José Sánchez Rojas; "La causa de América", by Federico Rabola; "El lobo del bosque negro y el hombre de las selvas claras", by Luis Araquistain; "América y los germanófilos españoles", by A. Rovira y Virgili; "España y América frente a la guerra", by Claudia Ametlla; "El factor América en la guerra mundial", by Enrique Massaguer; "América ante la guerra mundial", by Francisco Carbonell; "Alemania y la América del Sur", by Edgardo de Magalhaes; "El Presidente Wilson", by Eugenio Xammar; "El gesto argentino", by Marco Aguilar; "Contra el pensamiento político alemán", by Ruy Barbosa.—C. K. JONES.

Francisco de Miranda, the prize monograph by Professor William Spence Robertson, has been translated into Spanish by Sr. Diego Mendoza and published as volume XXI. of the *Biblioteca de Historia Nacional*, by the Academia Nacional de la Historia de Colombia.

"The General Index to Papers and Annual Reports of the American Historical Association, 1884-1914", which is vol. II. of *The Annual Report of the American Association for the Year 1914* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918) has recently been sent to members of the Association. It supplies a need that has been felt for a long time. Among the captions will be found many of interest to students of Hispanic American history. Matter will be found indexed under the various countries of Hispanic America, as well as under various districts, cities, and historic personages, such as Bolívar, Columbus, Miranda, etc. The captions of "Louisiana", "Mississippi Valley", "Missouri", "Texas", "New Mexico", "Monroe Doctrine", and collective geographical names, will yield much interesting material. The index is throughout an excellent piece of work.

All workers in South American history will welcome the arrival in America of *The War of Chupas*, which was written by Pedro de Cieza de León as a part of his *Civil Wars of Peru*. This volume was translated by the late Sir Clements R. Markham and published by the Hakluyt Society of London. The present publication is unfortunately posthumous. It is the last work of one who labored long and faithfully in his chosen field. The work may be best described as a detailed and very authoritative account of the post-conquest wars of Peru. The text itself, and Markham's notes thereon, settle a number of moot points, among which are the following: the exact location of Pizarro's palace; the exact title of Pizarro; and the precise nature of the events leading up to the assassination of Pizarro. The publication of this work in English gives to the peoples using that language a firsthand description of undisputed authenticity of the events following the conquest of Peru.—PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

The Catholic Historical Review for October contains an article on "The Catholic Church in British Honduras", by the Right Reverend Frederick C. Hopkins, S.J., D.D. The same paper contains an article on "The Aglipay Schism in the Philippines" by James Alexander Robertson; a short item on "Borinquén", as Porto Rico was formerly called, by Henry Grattan Doyle, in which some early Church history of that island is given; this being followed by an interesting document "Episcopology of Porto Rico", which was translated by Henry Grattan Doyle from the compilation made by Angel Paniagua Oller for the volume *Sinodo Diocesano del Obispado de Puerto Rico* (Porto Rico, 1917).

Commerce Reports, published daily by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce, Washington, contains many interesting notices touching the economic affairs of the various countries of Hispanic America. Among important items published during September and October, are the following:

American Chamber of Commerce in Barranquilla, no. 219, September 18.

Argentina as a market for home furniture, no. 240, October 12.

Argentine acreage under cereals, no. 250, October 24.

Argentina as a market for American office furniture, no. 230, October 1.

Argentine exports during first half of 1918, no. 216, September 14.

Argentine sugar situation, no. 215, September 15.

Bolivia's increasing export trade, no. 250, October 24.

Brazilian cement specifications, no. 211, September 9.

The Brazilian coffee situation, no. 219, September 18.

Brazilian government's Commercial Bulletin, no. 248, October 22.

Brazilian usages yield to the typewriter, no. 219, September 18.

Brazil's rubber shipments in July, no. 207, September 4.

Coal mining in the Cauca Valley, no. 234, October 5.

Convention of Mexican Chambers of Commerce, no. 222, September 21.

Cordage trade of western Venezuela, no. 210, September 7.

Development of Brazilian railways, no. 238, October 10.

Development of Dominican nickel deposit, no. 236, October 8.

Failure of Argentine Wine Association, no. 215, September 13.

Free admission of machinery in Mexico, no. 211, September 9.

Guayaquil market report for July, no. 219, September 18.

Id., for August, no. 250, October 24.

Jute industry in Cuba, no. 215, September 13.

Maximum prices for certain foodstuffs in Brazil, no. 249, October 23.

Market for advertising novelties in Brazil, no. 250, October 24.

Market for cotton goods in Mexico, no. 220, September 19.

The Mexican oil situation, no. 235, October 7.

Mexico's new Department of Industry, Commerce, and Labor, no. 222, September 21.

Municipal laundries for Uruguay, no. 208, September 5.

- New Government departments for Venezuela, no. 235, October 7.
- New law on railway concessions in Venezuela, no. 220, September 19.
- New Uruguayan Engineering Journal, no. 207, September 4.
- Outlook for American trade in Honduras, no. 239, October 11.
- Projected increase in the Argentine navy, no. 245, October 18.
- Proposed Brazilian budget for 1919, no. 207, September 4.
- Proposed increase of Argentine charges on imports, no. 212, September 10.
- Revival in Argentine shipbuilding industry, no. 233, October 4.
- Six months' exports from Matamoras to the United States, no. 243, October 16.
- Spain's commercial venture in South America, no. 239, October 11.
- Tampico oil shipments in July, no. 209, September 6.
- Tampico oil report for August, no. 228, September 28.
- The toy industry in Brazil, no. 245, October 18.
- Trade of Buenaventura, Colombia, no. 241, October 14.
- Treaty with Uruguay regarding commercial travelers, no. 252, October 26.
- The war and Peruvian foodstuffs, no. 249, October 23.
- War conditions have stimulated Brazilian industries, no. 246, October 19.

The second number of *El Estudiante Latino-Americano* (September), contains a thoughtful article by Tancredo Pinochet on "La Enfermedad de la América Latina", in which it is stated that Hispanic America is suffering from skepticism. J. E. Lefevre, of the Panama delegation, in an article entitled "Las Relaciones de nuestro Continente y la Amistad Panamericana", originally given by him as a lecture before the Student Conference at East Northfield, Mass., declares: "The famous phrase of the South American historian 'Everything unites us, nothing separates us', can be offered to all American countries today, for even their identical material interests, far from being in conflict, are harmonious and complementary". The paper is a strong plea for the closer drawing together of the American nations. In addressing the students, the speaker said: "You must labor incessantly in the propaganda both here and there. You must show the United States the treasures of

sentiment sheltered within our hearts and the wealth contained in our territories; and in your own country you must show the exalted civic virtues that ennoble this great people of democracy and of 'fair play', as well as their colossal industries. You must, above all, show how sincere are the motives that obliged the United States to unsheathe its unconquerable sword in the defense of ideals that are sacred to every man who loves his liberty and who, as did our ancestors, prefers death rather than to live dishonored. The purposes that inspire this noble people are essentially altruistic. They are not moved by ends of self interest, nor have they been converted by advantages of a material nature into champions of a new civilization founded on brotherhood and justice." Continuing the speaker urged students from Hispanic America to interpret the statemen and men of letters of the United States to their countrymen, as well as university life, and the institutions of the United States. Hispanic American students are called the "priests of the new Americanism". As such they must show themselves to be worthy descendants of Bolívar, San Martín, O'Higgins, Sucre, Miranda, Bello, and Sarmiento. Sr. Aurelio M. Espinosa, in "La Cultura Americana del Porvenir", notes that notwithstanding the conflict in Europe with its disastrous losses in cultural directions both the Anglo-Saxon and the Hispanic cultures are alive and vigorous in America. The product of these two lines of culture each working freely and logically will form the truly distinctive American culture of the future. Other interesting articles in this number are "La Escuela secundaria y la Universidad", by Sr. Ernesto Nelson, a delegate from Argentina to the Second Pan American Congress; and "Españoles y Americanos".

Hispania, "A Quarterly Journal devoted to the interests of Teachers of Spanish, and published by The American Association of Teachers of Spanish", issued its third number in September. In all, four numbers of this Journal have been published, the first number being the "Organization number" which was issued in November, 1917. No. 1 was issued in February of this year. The Journal is published at Stanford University, under the editorship of Aurelio Espinosa. Its consulting editors are John D. FitzGerald of Illinois University and J. D. M. Ford of Harvard University, and its associate editors, Percy B. Burnet, Alice H. Bushee, Alfred Coester, James Geddes, Jr., Joel Hatheway, Frederick B. Luquiens, George T. Northrup, George W. H. Shield, and George W. Umphrey.

Sr. Rafael Altamira's work, *La Psicología del Pueblo Español*, has recently been published in revised form by the Casa Editorial Minerva, Barcelona.

In mentioning the death of the Cuban-born Spanish statesman, jurist, and author, Rafael María de Labra, which occurred in Madrid on April 16, *Hispania* for September, recalls some of the volumes which helped to make him famous: *La Périda de las Américas*; *La Colonización en la Historia*; *De la Representación é Influencia de los E. U. de América en el Derecho Internacional*; *Estudios de Economía Social*; *Historia de la Cultura Española Contemporánea*; *El Derecho Internacional de España*; *La Política Hispano-Americano en el Siglo XX*; *El Problema Político-pedagógico en España*.

The Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima in its issue for the third quarter of 1917, (dated December 31, 1917) contains articles as follows: "Determinación de la altitud del Huascarán" (with illustrations), by E. de Larminat; "Raíces Kichuas", by J. S. Barranca (continued from previous number); "La riqueza aurífera del Rio Santiago y su zona" (un ensayo de historia minera) by Luis Ulloa (a continuation; here treating of the 17th century, with citation of old authorities); "La contracorriente ecuatorial y el 'Aguaje'", by José A. de Lavalle y García; "Decadencia de la industria gomera", by Estanislao Granadino; "Origen de los Chimus", by José Kimmich; "A propósito de la Isla de Taquila en el Lago de Titicaca", by R. Cuneo-Vidal. It is an interesting number.

The well known Brazilian scholar, Senhor Oliveira Lima signified his intention some time ago to give his fine library of Americana to the Catholic University of America. Unfortunately about half of these books are in the area included in the recent war zone in Europe and it is doubtful whether they will ever be received in Washington.

A recent issue of *Commerce Reports* notes the publication of the first number in English of the Commercial Bulletin issued by the Commercial Department of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil. This paper contains a number of articles of commercial interest. One section is devoted to Brazilian legislation, including comments on the Civil Code and decrees relative to economic matters. Among other material is a very detailed list of Brazilian woods and their uses.

Dr. Charles E. Chapman's book *A History of Spain. Founded on the Historia de España y de la Civilización Española of Rafael Altamira* (New York, Macmillan) has appeared from the press. In his preface, Dr. Chapman says: "The value of a better understanding between the peoples of the two Americas, . . . scarcely calls for argument. It is . . . clear that one of the essentials to such an understanding is a comprehension of Spanish civilization, on which that of the Spanish-American peoples so largely depends." There is, and fittingly so, an introduction by Professor Altamira. This book will be reviewed in a later issue of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

Dr. William Spence Robertson, in the preface of his *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, recently published by D. Appleton, says: "The *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics* aims to furnish to English readers an outline of the movement which culminated in the establishment of independent states in the Spanish Indies, as traced in the biographies of notable leaders. . . . This book deals with a distinct period in the history of Spanish America, the transitional epoch from 1808 to 1831, which may be said to lie between the colonial period proper and the distinctly national period. It is an introduction to a dramatic period which furnishes a background for the national history of the Spanish-American republics." This volume will be discussed in a later issue of the REVIEW.

Inter-America for September contains as its leading article a Spanish version of the President's address on June 7 last to the visiting Mexican newspapermen at the White House. This is entitled "La Buena Inteligencia entre Méjico y los Estados Unidos" (The Good Understanding between Mexico and the United States). The other articles of this number, all reproduced from English, do not concern Hispanic America. The October issue, however, reproduces in English a number of articles from Hispanic American periodicals. These are as follows: "President Wilson and Pan American Ideals" (editorial transl. from *La Nación*, Buenos Aires); Harmodio Arias, "The International Policy of Bolívar" (transl. from *La Revista Nueva*, Panamá); Alberto Mackenna Subercasseaux, "The Bridge of Triumph" (transl. from *El Mercurio*, Santiago de Chile), which refers to the bonds lately reestablished between France and the United States; Gregorio Torres Quintero, "Education among the ancient Mexicans" (transl. from *Yucatán Escolar*, Mérida, Yucatán); Clemente Onelli, "National Reserve Parks in Argentina"

(transl. from *Revista del Jardín Zoológico*, Buenos Aires); Miguel de Zárraga, "The United States as seen by a Spaniard" (transl. from the Spanish as published in *La Revista del Mundo*, New York, and *Fray Mocho*, Buenos Aires); Aurelia Castillo de González, "Women rather than Men" (transl. from *Cuba Contemporánea*, Havana)—a plea for a better system of education for women; Gonzalo Zaldumbide, "José Enrique Rodó" (transl. from *Revista Americana*, Rio de Janeiro); Manuel Elicio Flor T., "International Law and the Air" (transl. from a pamphlet published at Quito, Ecuador).

Sr. Mariano Alcocer, of the University and Provincial Libraries of Valladolid, Spain, and Director of the Archaeological Museum of the same place, has made a collection in Spanish archives of more than four hundred copies of keys to ciphers employed in diplomatic correspondence between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. He is prevented from publishing these because of the present high cost of paper and printing, and will be glad to correspond with any person who might desire to publish or acquire them.

H. H. Powers, in his book, *The United States in the War*, has chapters on the Caribbean area and on the future of countries in the Torrid Zone.

The Library of Congress has in press a compilation made under the direction of Mr. P. Lee Phillips, Chief of the Division of Maps of the Library, entitled *A List of Atlases applicable to the World War*. This book, of about 200 pages, has sections devoted to Mexico, Central America, South America, and other Hispanic American areas.

El Palacio, a small archaeological paper published weekly at Santa Fe, in its issue for August 17, contains an excellent facsimile of the first page of the *Verdadera Relacion, de la grandiosa conversion que ha avido en el Nuevo Mexico*. Embiada por el Padre Fray Estevan de Perea, Custodio de las Provincias del Nuevo Mexico, al muy Reverendo P. Fr. Francisco de Apodaca, Comissario General de toda la Nueva España, de la Orden de S. Francisco, dandole cuenta [sic] del estado de aquellas cõversiones, y en particular de lo sucedido en el despacho que se hizo para aquellas partes. . . . Impresso en Sevilla, por Luys Estupiñan, en la Calle delas Palmas. Año de 1632.

Mr. Benjamin M. Read, an attorney at Santa Fe, spends his spare time in investigations concerning the history of New Mexico. He is the author of several works on Mexico and New Mexico.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

- Alexander, P. F. (ed.): *The Discovery of America, 1492-1584*. Cambridge, University Press, 1917. Pp. xviii, 212.
- Alvarez, Agustín: *South America (Ensayo de psicología)*. Buenos Aires, "La Cultura Argentina", 1918.
- Ambrosetti, Juan B.: *Supersticiones y Leyendas*. Buenos Aires, "La Cultura Argentina", 1917.
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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION,
ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF
AUGUST 24, 1912,

Of The Hispanic American Historical Review, published Quarterly at Baltimore,
Maryland, for October 1, 1918.

District of Columbia: ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared James A. Robertson, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of the Hispanic American Historical Review and the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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JAMES A. ROBERTSON,
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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of September 1918

WM. H. DELANEY,

[SEAL.]

(My commission expires May 10, 1923.)

INDEX TO VOLUME I

- ABRANTES**, Marquis de (Brazilian official): act by, 157.
- Acapulco** (Mex.): colonization base, 67; duties collected at, 461.
- Accessory Transit Co.**: activities, 429.
- Acebo**, Gómez (Span. official): cited, 79.
- Acosta**, Antonio (Bolivian official): in consular service, 406, 407; activities, 408; letters by, and to, cited, 405-410, 414.
- Acosta**, Domingo (Colombian official): envoy to U. S., 263; letter by, cited, 264.
- Actas de las sesiones*: cited, 250.
- Adams**, Charles Francis: *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, cited, 124-126, 142-145, 246, 248, 250, 257-259, 261, 262, 266, 267.
- Adams**, John Quincy: Adheres to Monroe Doctrine, 125; acts by, 125, 126, 261, 262; relations with Rebello, 143-144; attitude toward Span. Amer. independence, 246, 248, 251-252, 258-259; justifies recognition of Brazil, 267-268; report to, cited, 131-132; message, cited, 134, 138, 144; diary, cited, 142; instructions given by, cited, 247-248; letters by, and to, cited, 252, 253, 254, 259, 261, 262, 263, 266, 268; opinion, cited, 266; *Memoirs*, cited, 124-126, 142-145, 246, 248, 250, 257-259, 261, 262, 266, 267.
- Adelantados**: supplant nobles, 26; replace frontier counts, 28; described, 29; functions, 29-30; how transformed, 39.
- Africa**: guano deposits in, 407.
- Agassiz**, Louis: in Brazil, 160.
- Agreda**, Gen. Sebastian: revolutionist, 405; letter to, cited, 409.
- Agriculture**: ancient in Andean countries, 418; needed there, 424.
- Aguilar**, Marcos de: relations with Cortés, 59; death, 60.
- Aguirre**, Manuel Hermenejildo: diplomatic agent to U. S., 240, 245.
- Agustín I.** of Mex. *See* Iturbide.
- Alarcón**, Pedro de: activities, 449-450.
- Alberdi**, Juan Bautista (Argentine official): negotiates treaty, 87; demoted, 87; *Obras*, cited, 87-88.
- Albes**, Edward: *Rio de Janeiro*, notice, 232.
- Alcala de Henares** (Spain): *audiencia* in, 33.
- Alcaldes**: forerunners of, 28; functions, etc., 31.
- Alcocer**, Mariano: his collection, 500.
- Aldunate**, Santiago (Chilean official): death, 204-205.
- Alfonso XI.** (of Castile): attends *audiencia*, 30.
- Alfonso XII.** (of Castile): his ministers, 89.
- Allen**, Heman: minister to Chile, 261, 269.
- Allen Johnson Series**: cited, 117.
- Almagro**, Diego de: colonist in Peru, 455.
- Almansa**, Enrique de (viceroys of Peru): opposes Philippine trade, 395-396.
- Almeida Garret**, João Baptista da Silva Leitão de, cited, 336, 467.
- Almotape** (Almotaxe): Pizarro at, 454.
- Altamira y Crevea**, Professor Rafael: suggests founding of REVIEW, 9; at meeting of Amer. Hist. Ass'n, 9; *Historia*, cited, 26, 31, 34; *La psicología del pueblo español*, notice, 498.

- Alter, Robert: guarantor of REVIEW, 16.
- Altolaquirre y Duvalé, Angel de: *Vasco Núñez de Balboa*, cited, 42-47.
- Alvarado, Pedro de (conquistador): activities, 52, 54, 56, 58, 68.
- Alvarez, Alejandro: activities, 194, 195; *Le droit international*, cited, 192; address by, 332-335.
- Alvord, Clarence W.: *Mississippi Valley*, cited, 380.
- Amazon Steam Navigation Co.: organized, 147; report, cited, 159.
- Amazon Valley: Pizarro discovers, 146; rich, 146; population, 146-147; still undeveloped, 147; potentiality, 151. *See also* Rivers: Amazon.
- Ambassadors: Spanish, instructions to, 72.
- America: first settlement in, 40-41; mainland explored, 50-53; ministers appointed to countries of, 261-262; Bolívar's attitude on solidarity of, 294; countries in, isolated, 482; national libraries in, should be cultural centers, 486-491.
- America, Central: jurisdictions in, defined, 69; South Amer., colonized from, 417; separates from Mex., 262; confederation of, desired and formed, 89, 427; articles of union ratified, 430; filibustering expeditions to, 153; U. S. recognizes, 269; first minister from U. S. to, 262; Brit. interference in, 426; U. S. interest in, 427; Webster's attitude toward, 432-433; trade of, with New Orleans, 460. *See also* the individual states.
- America, Hispanic: its scope and meaning, 13, 16-17; wrong terms used for, 199-200; extension of meaning, 465; hist. encouragement rec'd from, 6; hist. periodical needed for study of, 8; Span. contribution to, 24; relations, etc., with U. S., 152-153, 269, 333; societies of international law in, 334; problems in, 415; potentiality of inhabitants, 415; race appreciation needed in, 416; students from, in Louisiana, 460; teachers from Louisiana in, 460; New Orleans trade with, 460; better bibliographical facilities needed in, 481. *See also* the various Hisp. Amer. states and regions.
- America, Latin: *General descriptive data*, notice, 232. *See* Amer., Hisp.
- America, Portuguese: relations of U. S. with, 6. *See also* Brazil.
- America, South: early civilization in, 417-418; coast dwellers in, 418; mission in, 104-105; revolutionary *juntas* in, 240-241; Clay favors independence of, 125; agents from, sent to U. S., 241; U. S. sends special agents to, 244; Anglo-French intervention in, 410. *See also* the various states.
- America, Spanish: extent, 248; compared to U. S., 282; 286; racial elements in, 282; social structure of, cue to Spain, 24; Span. institutions transferred to, 25; relations of U. S. with, 6, 72, 242, 244, 257, 258, 269, 271; changes in, 240-241; changing conditions in, 245; not ready for full self govt., 272; disorder in, 280; unsuited to federal system, 284, 287; needs paternal govts., 285; Bolívar fears collapse of, 290; law in, 460. *See also* the individual Span. Amer. states and regions.
- American Association for International Conciliation: activities, 192, 195.
- American Congress of Bibliography and History: meets in Buenos Aires, 8-9.
- American Historical Association: special session in San Francisco, 8; papers read before, 24, 123, 146; Philadelphia meetings, 100, 102; *Report*, cited, 243, 494.
- American Institute of International Law: Aims, 334; cited, 182.

- American State Papers: cited, 71, 129, 130, 131, 133-138, 141-145, 242, 243, 250, 251, 253, 254.
- Americana: in U. S. libraries, 100.
- Americans: in Cent. Amer., 432.
- Amichel: name and location, 48-49; granted to Garay, 50.
- Amusements: needed in Andean countries, 424.
- Anales* of the University of Law and Social Sciences of Córdoba: cited, 117.
- Ancona, Eligio: *Historia*, cited, 58.
- Andagoya, Pascual de: *Narrative*, cited, 46-47.
- Andalucía la Nueva: its former name, 45.
- Anderson, Luis: "El tratado Bryan-Chamorro," cited, 201.
- Andes Mountains: exploration, projected, 148; ancient civilization in, 417; racial and social classes in, 417-423; social factor in, 423.
- Anduaga, Joaquín de (Span. official): activities, 253-254; letter, cited, 254.
- Angelis, Pedro de: *De la navigation de l'Amazon*, cited, 153.
- Angostura: congress of, 279-280.
- Annals of Congress*: cited, 245, 246, 248, 249, 252, 255, 256, 257.
- Anson, George: expedition of, 230; *Voyage*, cited, 396.
- Antas, Dr. Moraes: *O Amazonas*, cited, 157.
- Antequera (Mex.): founded, 52.
- Antequera, José María: *Historia*, cited, 26, 28, 29.
- Appalachie Mts.: exploration reaches, 48.
- Appleton, John: first U. S. minister to Bolivia, 265.
- Appointments: various, 51, 64, 65, 126, 363, 364.
- Appropriations: made by U. S., 255-257, 269. *See also* Budget and Situado.
- Aragon: prominent in Span. consolidation, 25-26; feudalism in, 26.
- Arandia, Pedro Manuel de (gov. of Philippines): letters, cited, 393, 397.
- Architecture: early in Peru, 418.
- Archives: Spanish, transcripts from, 100; Dept. of State (Washington), 182; East Florida and New Mex., 101; of Louisiana, 374; Archivio della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria, 4; Archivo General de Indias, 70, 72, 189, 196, 197, 209-230, 352-371, 463-464. *See also* libraries and manuscripts
- Argentina: included in Hisp. Amer., 465; revolutionary govt. in, 126-127; revolution in, 296; negotiates treaty with Spain, 87-88; Span. sign treaty, 89; first U. S. diplomatic mission to, 101; U. S. attitude to, and relations with, 101, 143, 261, 263, 269; relations with Brazil, 126-130; aids in Uruguayan revolution, 126-127; claims Uruguay, 127; acts as mediator, 333; commemoration of independence, 9; libraries in, 337; intellectual movements of, little known in Chile, 486.
- Arias de Avila, Pedro (gov. of Panama): in Panama, 447; accusation against, 448.
- Arriaga,———: letters to, cited, 393.
- Artigas, José Gervasio: national hero. 298; activities, 126-127.
- Artiñano y de Galdácano, Gervasio: *Historia*, reviewed, 326-327.
- Asesores* (official): functions, 29.
- Asturias: relations of nobles of, to Spain, 26-27.
- Atillan (fort): established, 54.
- Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal Co.: sketch, 429.
- Audiencia*: derivation of word, 30; defined, 38; genesis, 28; forerunners, 30; evolution, 33-34; hears

- appeals, 31, 62-63; appeals from, 35; in Spain, 30-31; in Span. colonies, 30, 39, 55, 57-66; colonial compared with peninsular, 37-38; activities, etc., 64, 66.
- Autos acordados*: defined, 37; in code, 33.
- Ayacucho: victory of, 86, 287-288.
- Ayer Collection*: docs. in, 100.
- Aymará: ancient empire, 417.
- Aztecs: defeated, 50-53.
- BACCAREZO**, ———: obstructs colony, 410.
- Bacon, Robert: *For better relations with our Latin American neighbors*, cited, 192.
- Baja California. *See* California.
- Balboa. *See* Nuñez de Balboa.
- Ballivián, José (pres. of Bolivia): administration, 403-414; president (1841-47), 404, 406; vice-president, 405; various activities, 405-414; commercial plans, etc., 407, 409; his later life, 409; attempts to colonize, 409-414; death, 409; letters to, and by, cited, 405-408, 410-414.
- Bancroft, Hubert H.: errors by, 40; his collection, cited, 58, 60, 101, 103, 104; *Hist. of Cent. Amer.*, cited, 36, 41, 43, 45, 46, 54-58, 68; *Hist. of Mex.*, cited, 52-54, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63-66, 397, 399; *Hist. of N. Mex. State*, cited, 65, 67.
- Banda Oriental (Eastern District): Brazil-Argentine war over, 126. *See also* Uruguay.
- Banks and banking: Span. abandon, 38; Uruguayan, 207.
- Bañuelos y Carrillo, Jerónimo de: *Relation*, cited, 394, 399, 402.
- Barbagelata, Hugo D.: *Bolívar*, cited, 270.
- Barcelona: power of counts in, 30.
- Bard, Harry Erwin: review by, 190-191; *Intellectual and cultural relations*, cited, 192.
- Barker, Eugene C.: attitude toward Review, 12, 14.
- Barlow, Joel (U. S. minister to France): his instructions, 242-243.
- Barrett, John: excerpt of letter from, 22-23.
- Barros Arana, Diego: *Un decenio de la historia de Chile*, cited, 85.
- Barrozo Pereira, Joaquim (Port. envoy to U. S.): activities, 267; letter to, cited, 268.
- Basco y Vargas, José (gov. of Philippines): institutes tobacco monopoly, 464.
- Bascuñan Montes, Aurelio: *Tratados*, cited, 85.
- Batchelder, Roger: *Watching and waiting*, reviewed, 99.
- Baton Rouge (Louisiana): founded, 457; Eng. rename, 458.
- Battles: Maipú, 331-332; Ingavi, 405-406. *See also* Wars.
- Bayo, Ciro: *Examen*, cited, 270.
- Beaumont, Pablo de la Purísima Concepción: *Cronica*, cited, 64.
- Bejar, Martin de: candidate for bishopric, 448.
- Belen (Amer.): attempt to colonize unsuccessful, 43.
- Beltran y Rozpide, Ricardo: cited, 477-478.
- Belzu, ———: Bolivian revolutionist, 409.
- Benton, E. J.: attitude toward Review, 12.
- Bepler, Doris West: appointed fellow, 341.
- Berlanga, Tomás de; O. P.: appointed bishop of Darién, 448.
- Biblioteca Andrés Bello: series, cited, 115.
- Biblioteca Argentina: series cited and described, 114.
- Biblioteca Ayacucho: hist. series, cited, 115.
- Biblioteca de ciencias políticas y sociales: series, cited, 115.

- Biblioteca constitucionalista: cited, 371.
- Bibliography: section on, 106-122, 209-233, 371-382, 480-508.
- Bibolotti, Moseteno Vocabulary and Treatises: notice, 403.
- Biddle, ———: letter by, cited, 136-137.
- Biloxi (Mississippi): Iberville in, 457.
- Bingham, Hiram: member of organization committee, 14; activities, 103; excerpt of letter from, 20.
- Blair, Emma Helen, and James Alexander Robertson: *Philippine Islands*, cited, 391, 394, 396, 398, 400, 461, 463.
- Blanco-Fombona, Rufino (editor): "Biblioteca Ayacucho," cited, 270; *Bolívar y la emancipación*, cited, 280-287, 289-295; *Bolívar pintado por sí mismo*, cited, 270; *Cartas de Bolívar*, cited, 270, 275, 278, 282, 295; *La evolución política*, cited, 289; *Memorias del general O'Leary*, cited, 274-277, 280, 283, 292-297; *Simón Bolívar: discursos y proclamas*, cited, 270; *Simón Bolívar, Libertador*, cited, 270, 274; *Ultimos años*, cited, 274, 276, 287.
- Bland, Theodorick: first U. S. diplomatic agent in Chile, 101, 131, 244; report, cited, 131-132.
- Bland & Co.: exploit Bolivian guano, 408.
- Blockades: must be effective, 129; not effective, 135-137.
- Bocanegra, ———: *Memorias*, cited, 76, 83.
- Bogotá (Colombia): seat of govt., 263.
- Bolívar, Simón: characterized and described, 251, 272, 274, 275, 278, 279, 298; and the U. S., 270-298; bias exhibited by authors on, 271; attitude toward U. S., 271-272, 277-287, 289, 293, 294, 297; attitude toward Spain, 272; attitude toward Eng., 294; attitude toward Peru, 296; records of visit to U. S. lost, 273; his estimate of Washington, 274-277; an exile, 275; protests reflection, 275; resigns presidency, 276; relations with Malling, 278; his views on preparedness, 283-284; disapproves federal system, 284-287; attitude toward continental union, 289; fears collapse of Span. Amer., 290; characterizes congress of Panama, 293-294, many works on, 270; writings partially lost, 271, letters to and by, cited, 274-280, 282, 285, 287, 290, 292, 294-297; messages, cited, 281, 286; address, cited, 282; memoir, cited, 283-284; circular, cited, 287; statement, cited, 292.
- Bolivia: Amazon drains, 146; guano in, 406-407; first South Amer. country to attempt to install telegraph system, 413-414; treaty with Spain, negotiated, 86; U. S. recognizes, 265; forms confederation with Peru, 404; Bolívar in, 292; disorder in, 296; invaded, 405; financial troubles in, 405-407; revolution in (1847), 408-409; opens river to navigation, 149; note to minister in, cited, 155; Ballivián's administration in, 403-414; presidents of, 404; Congress of, 410; laws, cited, 86; libraries in, 337; history and geography of, written, 408.
- Bolton, Herbert E.: member of organization committee, 14; advisory editor, 19; elected member of hist. council, 102; on survey commission, 197; activities, 117, 350; *Pacific Ocean in hist.* (ed.), cited, 9; *Guide*, cited, 163; "Wilkinson as advisor," 163-180; excerpt of letter from, 21; cited, 101-102.
- Bonaparte, Joseph: declared king, 240.
- Bonds: Brazil requires, 135.
- Bonham, Milledge L., Jr.: attitude toward REVIEW, 12; activities, 374, 477; "Spanish flag," 457-460.

- Books: use of reviews of, 3; reviews and notices, 92-99, 181-191, 230-237, 317-330, 435-444; lists, 119-121, 382-385, 484-485, 501-503.
- Borchard, Edwin, M.: *Guide*, notice and review, 230-231, 317-324; *Guide*, cited, 374.
- Borgoña, Gen. José Manuel (Chilean envoy): activities, 85.
- Boston (Mass.): Board of Trade of, 159; Bolívar in, 273;
- Boundaries: disputed, 57, 126.
- Bourne, Edward Gaylord: "Philippine *situado*," cited, 461; *Spain in Amer.*, cited, 41, 43, 45, 46, 51, 55.
- Bowring, Sir John: *Philippine Islands*, cited, 464.
- Branciforte, Marquis de (viceroys of Mex.): correspondence, cited, 219.
- Bravo de Saravia, ———: vider of Panama, 455.
- Brazil: included in *Hisp. Amer.*, 465-466; discovery, 146; Amazon drains, 146; explorations projected and made, 147-148; separates from Portugal, 124; desires recognition, 123, 266; recognizes Span. Amer. countries, 257; U. S. recognizes, 265-267, 269; relations with Argentina, 126-131; annexes Uruguay, 127; Uruguay revolts against, 128; forces opening of La Plata, 151; attitude toward U. S., 124, 152-153, 156, 266; Marcy's negotiations with, 154-156; attitude toward opening of Amazon, 148; relations with Peru, 149; Span. Amer. attitude toward, 290; slave trade in, suppressed, 124; ships sold to, 132; impresses seamen, 132-133; Tudor sent to, 143; trade of, 143; policy, 147, 149-152, 156-161; subsidies in, 153; proposed budget (1919), 468-471; council of state, 157, 159; progressive party in, 161; participates in Congress of Panama, 288-289; acts as mediator, 333; Ballivián in, 409; libraries in, 337-338; paper on, cited, 100; decrees of, cited, 160-161, 206-207.
- Brent, Daniel: letters by, cited, 252.
- Briceño, ———: letter to, cited, 292, 293.
- British: in Cent. Amer., 426-434.
- British and Foreign State Papers*: cited, 72, 73, 127-130, 147.
- British Museum: books in, 151.
- Brooks, George: *With the first city troop*, reviewed, 99.
- Brown, Adm. ———: commands Argentine fleet, 136.
- Bruselas: founded, 47-48; in jurisdiction of Nicaragua, 68.
- Bucarely y Ursua, Antonio María de: docs. on, cited, 216-217.
- Buckley, Eleanor C.: notice, 351.
- Budgets: Brazilian, 468-471; Venezuelan, 471.
- Bulwer, Sir Henry: letters by, cited, 433.
- Burr, M. L.: favors REVIEW, 12, 14.
- Buenos Airean Republic. *See* Argentina.
- Buenos Aires: capital of Argentina, 87; congress in, 9; first U. S. diplomatic mission in, 101; U. S. commercial agent in, 244; govt. negotiations in, 126-129; blockaded, 137; revolutionary *junta* in, 241; independent govt. in, 246.
- Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce: activities, 478; circulars of, cited, 472-474.
- Bustamante, Anastasio (pres. of Mex.): cited, 83.
- Bustamante, Carlos (Mex. delegate): cited, 83.
- CABILDO**: makes appointments, 60.
- Cabo de Honduras: in *audiencia* of New Spain, 60-62.
- Cabrera de Nevares, Miguel: member of Spanish Cortes, 80.
- Cadena, Pedro Ignacio de: collection, cited, 182.
- Cádiz (Spain): consulado, 399; constitution promulgated in, 78.
- Cajamarca: Pizarro at, 455.

- Calatrava, José María (Span. sec'y of state): activities, 74-79, 81.
- Calderón Collantes, Saturino (Span. sec'y of state): activities, 87-88.
- Calhoun, John: advice, cited, 266.
- California (Baja and Alta): Baja, discovered, 67; included in Mexico, 81; internal changes in, 198-199; Span. settlements in, 361; route to, through Central America, 432; Cortés first gov. of, 67; docs. on, cited, 197, 211-230, 352-371.
- California Historical Survey Commission: activities, 197-199.
- Callao (Peru): treaty signed at, 88; Philippine trade in, 396.
- Cámara, Francisco de la, O. P. (bishop of Panama): activities, 449.
- Camara of Castile: defined, 35; powers, 35-36; council patterned after, 37.
- Camara de Indias: organized, 37; functions, 37.
- Cambridge Modern History: cited, 396.
- Campbell, Patrick (Brit. chargé in Bolivia): letter to, cited, 279.
- Cañar: architecture in, 418.
- Cañaz, Antonio José: relations with U. S., 262, 269; letter to, cited, 262.
- Candia, Pedro de: in Tumbes, 453.
- Canals: projected on isthmus of Panama, 427-430.
- Canga Argüelles, José (member of Span. Cortes): returned to power, 90; cited, 76, 77, 79.
- Cape Gracias a Dios: colony at, 68.
- Carabobo: royalist defeat at, 251.
- Caracas (Venezuela): revolutionary junta in, 241; province of, subdivided, 284.
- Caraval: *Santa Maria*, 335.
- Carbonell, Diego: *Psicopatología de Bolívar*, cited, 270.
- Cardero, Cayetano (member of Span. Cortes): cited, 80.
- Cardenas, Raúl de: cited, 288.
- Caribbean Sea: area of, 13; New Orleans trade with, 460.
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: activities, 102, 192-196; list of publications, cited, 337-338.
- Carnegie Institution of Washington: activities, 100, 101, 103, 196-197, 351, 482.
- Cartagena: attempt to colonize, 43.
- Carvalho e Mello, Luis de (Brazilian official): activities, 265.
- Casas, Francisco de las: lieutenant of Cortés, 56.
- Castilla del Oro: its former name, 45; confused with Veragua, 41; extent, 45; delimitation of, 67-69; not granted to Nicuesa, 40; Pedrarias in, 57, 67; wealth, 448.
- Castile: growth of royal power in, 25-26; leader in Span. consolidation, 25-26; relation of nobles in, to king, 26-27; adelantados in, 29; growth of justice in, 30; men enlisted in, 42-43.
- Catalonia: feudalism in, 26; *audiencia* in, 30; growth of justice in, 30.
- Cathedral. *See* churches and cathedrals.
- Catholic Church. *See* Church (The).
- Catholic Kings: measures by, 35.
- Cavalcanti, Amaro (Brazilian official): writings, cited, 153.
- Cavia, Mariano de: letter, cited, 336.
- Cebrián, Juan C.: guarantor of REVIEW, 16; member of Royal Acad. of Hist., 341; excerpts of letter by, 16-17, 335-337, 465-467; cited, 200, 373.
- Cédulas: cited, 41, 46, 48, 53, 58, 60, 63, 67, 392, 394, 398, 402. *See also* Decrees.
- Chaltona (Bolivia): colony at, 410.
- Chambers, Raymond: appointed fellow, 341.
- Chandler, Charles Lyon: attitude toward REVIEW, 12, 14; member of organization committee, 15; guarantor of REVIEW, 16; notices, 103, 478; note by, 201-203; *Inter American acquaintances*, notice, 231; cited, 103.

- Chapels: built in Amer., 447, 450-451.
- Chapman, Charles E.: delegate to Buenos Aires, 9; attitude toward REVIEW, 12; outlines project for REVIEW, 13; member of organization committee, 15; guarantor of REVIEW, 16; member of editorial board, 19; fellowship held by, 209; activities, 103-104, 350-351; letter to, from president, 1; excerpts from letters to, 20-23; "Founding of the REVIEW," 8-23; letter by, 10; "Description of certain legajos," 209-230, 352-371; book review by, 435-441; "A Californian in South Amer.," cited, 15; "Archivo General de Indias," cited, 209; "Catalogue of Materials," cited, 209; *History of Spain*, notice, 499.
- Charleston: Bolívar in, 273.
- Charters: granted, 27.
- Chatfield, ———: (Brit. official): characterized, 427; activities, 428.
- Chávez, Ezequiel A.: activities, 104.
- Chile: compared to Colombia, 294; weakness of, 296; colony characterized, 461; hemp raised in, 411; declares independence, 240; independent, 250; treaty with Spain, 85; status, 252; decrees of, cited, 84; assumes debts, 85; sends envoy to Spain, 85; relations with U. S., 131-132, 261, 263, 269; little knowledge of U. S. in, 482; acts as mediator, 333; declares war on Bolivia and Peru, 404; intellectual movement of Argentina little known in, 486; libraries in, 338.
- Chile and Northern News Association: notice, 476.
- Chilean National Library: statistics in, 483-484.
- Chimu: confederation of, 417.
- China: silk exported from, 395; goods from, prohibited in Peru, 398; trade with Chinese in Philippines, 462.
- Christian, A. K.: notice, 351.
- "Chronicles of America:" notice, 117.
- Chulucanas (Peru): early settlement near, 455.
- Church (The): hist. periodicals for, in Amer., 5; in Hispanic Amer., 117; shares diplomatic expenses in Bolivia, 407.
- Churches and Cathedrals: earliest cathedral in continental Amer., 447; Cathedral of Old Panama, 447-453; Jesuit, in Panama, 449, 452; first Christian, in Peru, 454; Protestant, 5.
- Churchill, Awnsham: *Voyages*, cited, 401.
- Cieza de León, Pedro de: *War of Chupas*, notice, 494.
- Cisplatine Province. *See* Uruguay.
- Citizenship: how determined, 87.
- Clark, Arthur H.: attitude toward REVIEW, 12.
- Clark, Dr. Robert C.: notice, 478.
- Clay, Henry: activities, 125; approves Raquet's conduct, 133-134; relations with Rebello, 143-144; attitude toward Span. Amer., 248-249; instructions, cited, 71; letters to, cited, 135, 138; cited, 248-249.
- Clay, J. Randolph: negotiates treaty, 148-149.
- Clayton, John M.: Marcy succeeds, 154; letter by, cited, 147; letters from Squier to, 426-434.
- Cochabamba (Bolivia): project for bishopric of, 407.
- Codes: Visigothic, 32; Span., 32-33; Indies, 33; Castile, 33.
- Coelho de Sá e Albuquerque, Antonio (Brazilian official): favors opening of Amazon, 161.
- Coffin, J. F.: *Journal*, review, 112-114.
- Coiba: location, 46; Balboa gov. of, 46.
- Colección de documentos . . . de Amér. y Oceanía*: cited, 41-43, 47-51, 53, 55, 57-59, 63, 64, 66, 68.
- Colección de documentos . . . España*: cited, 50, 63, 64.
- Colección de libros . . . de Perú*: cited, 116.
- Colección de ordenes*: cited, 76.

- Colección de Tratados*: cited, 86.
- Colección legislativa de España*: cited, 70, 81-83, 85-90.
- Colima (district and town): conquest, 52-53; founded, 53, 65; boundary of New Spain, 57; Guzmán debarred from, 66.
- Colla: ancient empire, 417.
- Collecção das leis do Brazil*: cited, 265.
- Colombia (Gt. Cólombia): Amazon drains, 146; extent, 251; countries separate from, 263; compared to other countries, 294; treaty betw., and Spain, 88-89; republic formed, 251; Bolívar's aim in creating, 277; Bolívar president of, 275; can not assimilate institutions of U. S., 283; Bolívar aims to strengthen, 287; weakness of, feared, 290; relations with U. S., 251-252, 258-259, 263, 269, 288; attitude toward Gt. Brit. and U. S., 291; libraries in, 338.
- Colonies: Span. in Amer., 25-26; officials in, 31-32, 67, 68; supervision of, 37; reason for downfall, 37; few towns, 38; organization, 39; early lack of success, 43; limited in size, 57; jurisdiction in, defined, 69; crown's influence in, 69; revolt, 70; Span. attitude toward, 70-72; negotiations concerning, 77; Span. recognizes independence of, 90-91; not worthy of independence, 253-254; economic policy of, 461-462; docs. on, 210, 369. *See also* the Span. Amer. countries, and Islands. Portuguese policy of, 147 (*see also* Brazil). military, planned, 410; established by Ballivián, 410; German, promoted, 411-413.
- Colonization: beginning of Span., 40-41; Española base for, 48; disturbances in, 48; without legal sanction, 51-52; delimited, 57; Ballivián's attempts at, 409-413; Ried's plan, 412-413.
- Columbus, Christopher: in America, 40-41; explores Honduran coast, 42; language used by, 476-477; his heirs contest with crown, 68.
- Columbus, Diego: appointment, 41; appoints Balboa, 43; supplies Santa María, 44; his jurisdiction, 45; his widow contests with crown, 68.
- Commerce and Trade: Span. fail in, 38-39; treaties provide for, 74-75, 79, 85; Spain should control in Span. Amer., 79; Mex., provides for, with Spain, 82; betw. Spain and Amer., renewed, 83-85; Spain induced to recognize colonies because of, 90, 269; influence of Brazil-Argentina war on, of U. S., 129; of U. S., interfered with, 142; ships prey on Brazilian, 143; Brazilian policy of, 147-148; Bolivia solicits, 149; Wilkinson's advice regarding, 164-175; with Hisp. Amer., 201-203; agents of, 244; of Manila galleon, 389-402; restrictions, 397-399; Span. officials engage in, 400; Ballivián promotes, 407; betw. New Orleans and Hisp. Amer., 460; Chinese, in Philippines, 462; docs. on colonial, cited, 369.
- Commissions: Argentinian, 127; Chilean-Peruvian-Bolivian, 406.
- Compañía de Filipinas*: activities, 393.
- Concepción, Juan de la: *Historia*, cited, 396.
- Concepcion: foundation and location, 69.
- Confederacies and Confederations: Hisp. recommended, 80; Argentinian, 87-88; Peru-Bolivia, 264; Span. Amer., 287-290, 417. *See also* America, Central.
- Congreso Americano de Bibliografía e Historia: in Buenos Aires, 9-10.
- Congress: Angostura, 279-280, 282, 286; Chuquisaca, 281; Panamá, 287-294; Pan American, 289; U. S., 125, 150, 154, 243-244, 255-256; Vienna, 155, 294.

- Conquests: Span., 50-57. *See also* Colonies and Colonization.
- Consejo Real: evolution, 34-35. *See also* Councils.
- Constitutions: adopted in Span. Amer., 263; U. S., 248, 280; Venezuelan, 279-280, 286.
- Contraband: in Manila galleon trade, 389.
- Cooley, ———: minister to Peru, 269.
- Cooley, Philip H.: aid acknowledged, 162.
- Córdoba, Francisco Fernández de: revolts, 56; hostile to Dávila, 55; executed, 67.
- Corregidor*: his functions, 31.
- Correspondence du Marquis de Croix*: cited, 389.
- Cort del Rey* (curia): forerunner of *audiencia*, 30.
- Cortes: of Segovia, 32; of Zamora, 32. *See also* Spain.
- Cortés, Eugenio: Mex. agent, 251.
- Cortés, Fernando: appointments and titles, 53, 63, 64; first gov. of California, 67; explorations, conquests, and other activities, 48-57, 65-69; loses power, 58; appeals to king, 59; plans to explore South Sea, 60; exiled, 60; returns to Spain, 60; residencia, 62-63; receives grants in New Spain, 62-63; relations with Guzmán, 66; with Córdoba, 67.
- Cortes Society: notice, 342.
- Coruña: *audiencia* in, 34.
- Cosa, Juan de la: appointment of, 42.
- Costa Rica: treaty with Spain, 89-90; attitude toward confederation, 427; libraries in, 338.
- Cotton: in New Spain, 389; woven in South Amer., 418.
- Councils: Castile, 34, 36, 37; Indies, 34, 36, 37, 39, 393; León, 26-27, 28, 31, 32; Permanent, of the American Congress of Bibliography and History, 179; Royal, 34-35; State (Brazilian), 157, 159; Supreme, of the Inquisition, 35; Trent, 36.
- Courts: in Spain and its colonies, 28-30; Supreme (U. S.), 239-240.
- Cox, Isaac Joslin: favors *REVIEW*, 12; proposed for organization committee, 14; on editorial board, 19; activities, 102; reviews by, 94-99; *West Florida*, notice, 102; *id.*, reviewed, 327-329.
- Coy, Owen, C.: "California Hist. Survey Com'n": 197-199.
- Crampton, Ethel (joint author): "Administration of José Ballivián in Bolivia", 403-414.
- Crawford, William Harris: opinion cited, 247-248.
- Croix, Marquis de: cited, 216, 218, 389.
- Cuevas, ———: *Industrial and commercial development*, cited, 193.
- Cuevas, Luis G.: cited, 83.
- Cuevas, Rev. M.: *Cartas*, cited, 50, 56, 59, 60, 63.
- Cunningham, Charles H.: guarantor of *REVIEW*, 16; activities, 102; notice, 351; "The Institutional background of Span. Amer. hist", 24-39.
- Curaca* (native official): described, 420.
- Custis, Eliza Parke: letter by, cited, 277.
- Custis, George Washington: letter to, 276-277.
- Cuzco: center of ancient culture, 417-418.
- D**AMPIER, William: *Voyage*, cited, 401.
- Daniels, Margarette: *Makers of South Amer.*, cited, 270.
- Danvila y Collado, Carlos: *El poder civil*, cited, 28.
- Darby, John: Uruguayan consul, 264.
- Darién: province of, renamed, 45; Nuñez de Balboa app. gov. of, 44; colonists in town of, 44-45; former name of gulf of, 42. *See also* Santa María de la Antigua de Darién.
- Davenport, Frances Gardiner: book reviews by, 324-326.

- Dávila (De Avila), Pedrarias (Pedro Arias): error concerning, 40; appointment and arrival at Santa María, 45; Balboa subject to, 46; executes him, 46; various activities, 46-47, 54-57, 67-68.
- Debts: in treaties, 74, 81, 82, 84-87, 89, 91.
- Decrees: Span. cited, 35, 80, 81, 82, 84, 86, 227; Mex., cited, 82-83; Venezuelan, cited, 83-84; of New Granada, cited, 84; Chilean, cited, 84; of Ecuador, cited, 84; Portuguese, cited, 147; Brazilian, cited, 160, 161, 206, 207. *See also* Cédulas.
- Democracy: in Span. Amer., 272; Bolívar's views on, 278; destructive, not wanted in Andean countries, 423-424.
- Desdévies du Désert, Georges Nicholas: *L'Espagne de l'ancien régime*, cited, 28, 31, 34.
- Dessalines d'Orbigny, Alcide: contracts to write history of Bolivia, 408.
- Díaz de Solís, Juan: discovers land, 45. *Diplomacia Mexicana (La)*: cited, 262.
- Dirección de Estudios Arqueológicos y Etnográficos: Mexican, 415.
- Dissertations: list of doctoral, 118-119.
- Documentos del Archivo de Pueyrredón*: cited, 71.
- Documentos para los anales de Venezuela*: cited, 73-74.
- Documents: in U. S. libraries, 100-101; original, pub. in this REVIEW, 163-180, 299-316, 426-434.
- Doheny Research Foundation: notice regarding, 103-104.
- Dominicans: in Baja California, 354; in California, 356, 366, 370-371.
- Dublan y Lozano, Adolfo: *Legislación mexicana*, cited, 82-83.
- Dunn, William E.: activities, 102; procures transcripts, 211; thesis, cited, 102.
- Dutch: hostile to Span., 462.
- Duties: in treaties, 75; Peru willing to pay, 395, collected in Philippines, 462. *See also* Taxation and kindred subjects.
- EARTHQUAKES:** in Panama, 449.
- East Florida: archives of, 101.
- Eastern Province. *See* Banda Oriental.
- Ecuador: Amazon drains, 146; measures taken by, 84; negotiates treaty with Spain, 84-85; note to minister in, 155; separates from Colombia, 263; recognized by U. S., 264; revolution in, threatened, 408; libraries in, 408.
- Editorial-América: series published by, 115.
- Eguiguren, Victor: "Fundaciones y traslaciones de S. Miguel de Piura," cited, 455, 457.
- Encomiendas: granted to Span., 54.
- Enemy trading list: in Hisp. Amer., 203-204.
- Engineers: mining, sent to Bolivia, 408.
- England: colonies revolt, 24; compared with Spain, 39; retains commerce of U. S., 79; does not support U. S., 131; Bolívar's attitude toward, 279, 294.
- Enrique II.: institutes legal forms, 33.
- Enriquez, ———: letters, cited, 396.
- Ensayos de historia política y diplomática*, cited, 278.
- Eseriche, Joaquín: *Diccionario*, cited, 29, 31, 36.
- Escritos sueltos de Hernán Cortés*, cited, 56.
- "Española and the founding of Castilla del Oro", 40-48.
- Espinosa, Aurelio M.: "The term Latin America", cited, 464-467.
- Espinosa, Gaspar de: founds Panama, 447.
- Espiritu Santo (Span. settlement): location and foundation, 52.

- Estates: large, in Andean countries, 419-420 (*see also* Land).
- Estrada, Alonso de: appointed to office, 60.
- Etchart, ———: letter, cited, 414.
- Europe: disastrous effect of war on scholarship in, 3; status of, in regard to historical periodicals, 4; feudalism in, 26; attitude toward Span. Amer. recognition, 257, 269.
- Everett, Alexander H. (minister to Spain): instructions, 71; urges recognition of colonies, 71; successor, 72.
- Exemptions: in treaties, 82.
- Expeditions and explorations: made and projected in various districts, 47-53, 60, 63-65, 67, 68, 147-148, 409-414.
- Exposicion que dirige al congreso de Venezuela . . . el secretario de relaciones exteriores*, cited, 264.
- Extracto Historial*: cited, 390, 392-395, 397, 398, 461-464.
- FAGES, Pedro: proposal by, cited, 219; instructions to, cited, 228.
- Fajardo, Alonso (gov. of Philippines): letters, cited, 396.
- Far East: trade with New Spain, 389-390.
- Fasija (Bolivia): colony at, 410.
- Federal cases*: cited, 240.
- Federations: Central Amer., 89; of the Equator, 123.
- Felipe (Philip) II.: activities, 32-33, 35; letters to, and by, cited, 395-397.
- Felipe (Philip) III.: letters to, cited, 394, 396.
- Felipe (Philip) IV.: letters, cited, 399.
- Ferdinand VII. *See* Fernando VII.
- Fernández de Castro, Alonso: *Puntos principales*, cited, 391.
- Fernández de Enciso, Martín: founds first Span. settlement on continental Amer., 447.
- Fernández de Navarrete, Martín: *Colección de los viajes*, cited, 41, 42, 45, 48, 49.
- Fernández de Oviedo y Valdes, Gonzalo: *Historia General*, cited, 47.
- Fernando I.: *See* Catholic Kings.
- Fernando VI.: attends *audiencia*, 30.
- Fernando VII.: attitude toward independence, 90; delays signing of treaty, 250; deposed, 240; death, 72; proclamation, cited, 70.
- Ferrer, Joaquín María: favors independence, 90; cited, 77-79.
- Feudalism: in various regions, 26.
- Fillmore, Millard: activities, 265.
- Finances: in Uruguay, 207; docs. on, 359-362. *See also* kindred captions.
- Fiscal procurador*: functions, 33.
- Fiske, John: *Disc. of Amer.*, cited, 41, 46.
- Flags: Span. in Louisiana, 457-460.
- Fletcher, James C. and Daniel Parish Kidder: *Brazil and the Brazilians*, cited, 153, 154.
- Flores, ———: projects expedition, 408.
- Floréz, Manuel Antonio (viceroys of Mex.): correspondence, cited, 219.
- Florida: discovery, 48; early called island, 48; exploration near cape o^e, 49-50; Narvaez in, 50; in *audiencia* of New Spain, 60-62; colony in, characterized, 461; U. S. desires and obtains, 250, 254, 278; map, cited, 232.
- "Florida, Amichel, and Rio de las Palmas", 48-50.
- Fonseca: gulf of, 36, 48.
- Fontecha, Antonio Abad. *See* Ramírez y Fernández.
- Forbes, John M. (U. S. consul): first trained U. S. diplomat in South Amer., 104-105; letters to, cited, 252.
- Ford, Worthington Chauncey (ed.): *Writings of J. Q. Adams*, cited, 247, 262-263.
- Forsyth, John (U. S. official): activities, 73, 254.
- Fort Richmond: identified, 458.
- Fortier, Alcée: studies by, 460.

- Fortique, Alejo (Venezuelan minister): negotiates treaty, 85-86.
- Fortoul, Gil: *Histoire*, cited, 278, 279, 288.
- "Founding of New Spain": 50-57.
- "Founding of the REVIEW", 8-23.
- France: compared to Spain, 26, 39; feudalism in, 26; aids Portugal, 124; govt. in, recognized by U. S., 239; influence on Hisp. Amer., 482; rich in historical periodicals, 4.
- Francia, F.: *Genealogia*, cited, 270.
- Franciscans: in California, 354, 366.
- Franco, Tito: favors opening of Amazon, 158.
- French: overthrow Span. govt., 70.
- Frontera (Bolivia): colony at, 410.
- Fuero real*: cited, 32.
- Fueros: conceded reluctantly, 28.
- G**
- GAGE, Thomas: *New Survey*, cited, 390.
- Galicia: official in, 29; *audiencia* in, 34; Guzmán, in, 66-67.
- Galleon: Manila, 389-402; revenue from trade of, 463. *See also* Ships.
- Gallego, Capt. ———: conquers Tabasco, 56-57.
- Galv  z, Bernardo de: correspondence, cited, 219; letters by, 307-316.
- Galvez, Jos   de: docs. on reforms of, cited, 213, 217; letters to, cited, 300-304, 307, 311, 397.
- Gomarra, ———: favors Peru-Bolivia confederation, 404; killed, 405.
- Gamio, Manuel: studies race appreciation, 415-416; *Forjando patria*, cited, 104, 416; *Programa*, cited, 416.
- Gayangos, Pascual de (ed.): *Cartas*, cited, 56.
- Garay, Francisco de: obtains colonization rights, 48-49; equips expedition, 48; Cort  s imprisons, 49; Amichel granted to, 50; Cort  s obstructed by, 53; his forces join Cort  s, 54; his claims, 53; death, 49, 53-54; his successor, 57.
- Garc  a, Anton: builds Panama Cathedral, 448.
- Garc  a Icazbalceta, Joaqu  n: *Bibliograf  a*, cited, 393.
- Garc  a M  rou, Mart  n: *Historia*, cited, 240.
- Garc  a Rosell, Ricardo: "El Departamento de Piura", cited, 457.
- Garnett, ———: attitude toward recognition, 256.
- Gemelli-Careri, Giovanni Francesco: *Voyages*, cited, 401.
- Georgia: historical periodicals in, 4-5.
- Germans: colony of, planned, 411-413.
- Germany: feudalism in, 26; compared to Spain, 26; relations severed with, 207; historical periodicals in, 4.
- Gibbon, Lieut. ———: instructions to, 148; influences opening of Amazon, 156, 162.
- Gibbs, Crawley & Co.: trades in Chile, 407.
- Goebel, Julius Ludwig: *Recognition policy*, cited, 240.
- Goes e Vasconcellos, Zacharias de: favors opening of Amazon, 160.
- Gold: explorers seek, 49.
- Goldsmith, Peter H.: translator, 193.
- G  mez, Esteban: explorations by, 49.
- G  mez Restrepo, Antonio: cited, 477.
- Gon  alez Dias, ———: cited, 157-158.
- Gonz  lez Brabo, Luis: negotiates treaty, 85.
- Gonz  lez D  vila, Gil: explorer, 47; activities, 54-55; Olid captures, 55.
- Gonz  lez D  vila, Ni  o: explorations, 47.
- Gonz  lez S  arez, Federico: death, 342.
- Gon  i, ———: *Tratado*, cited, 84, 89.
- Govantes, Felipe de: *Compendio*, cited, 461.
- Government: Inca, characterized, 418; remains of, in Andes, 419.
- Governors: of Span. colonies, 68.
- Graham, ———: U. S. agent in Buenos Aires, 101, 244.
- Granada (Spain): tribunals in, 34.
- Granada (town in Amer.): founded, 47-48.
- Gra  a y Reyes, Antonio: estate of, 420.

- Grau y Monfalcon, Juan: writings, cited, 397, 398, 402, 463.
- Great Britain: ministers to, 85; Span. Amer. compared to, 272; controls Central Amer. isthmus, 426. *See also* England.
- Great Chaco: disputed territory, 410-411.
- Grijalva, Juan de: activities, 48, 53.
- Guadalajara (Mex.): *audiencia* in, 34.
- Gual, Pedro: negotiates treaty, 84-85.
- Guano: deposits of, 407.
- Guardia, ———: *History*, cited, 41, 43, 47, 54-56, 69.
- Guastavino, Juan Estévan: *San Martín y Simón Bolívar*, cited, 270.
- Guatemala: first Span. settlements in, 54; Span. in, 55; independent jurisdiction, 58; under *audiencia* of New Spain, 60-62; Alvarado in, 68; treaty betw., and Spain, 90; attitude toward confederation, 247; status, 296; severs relations with Germany, 206; libraries in, 338.
- Guatemala City: treaty signed at, 90.
- Guedes. *See* Rio da Prata.
- Gutiérrez, Felipe: gov. of Veragua, 68-69.
- Guzmán, Nuño de: appointment, 57, 62, 66; disputes boundary, 57; Cortés's relations with, 60, 66; grants to, 64; explorations by, 65; *audiencia* restricts, 66; character, 65.
- HACENDADOS:** their responsibility in Andean countries, 424.
- Hackett, Charles W.: notice regarding, 351; "Delimitation of political jurisdictions", 40-69; *id.*, cited, 100.
- Haiti: govt. autocratic, 272.
- Hakluyt, Richard: *Principall navigations*, cited, 393.
- Hakluyt Society: publications, cited, 46-47.
- Hamilton, Stanislaus Murray (ed.): *Writings of James Monroe*, cited, 243, 246, 257-258.
- Handbook of MSS.*: reviewed, 186-190.
- Handicrafts: early in South Amer., 418. *See also* Industries.
- Harbor: discovered on South Sea, 52.
- Haring, Charles H.: in South Amer., 478; *Pan Germanism*, cited, 193; *Trade and navigation*, notice, 117, 231; *id.*, reviewed, 324-326.
- Harris, Haydn: guarantor of this REVIEW, 16.
- Harrison, William Henry: attitude toward Bolívar, 277-278.
- Hasse, Adelaide Rosalie: *Index to U. S. docs.*, cited, 264.
- Helps, Arthur: errors by, 40; *Span. conquest*, cited, 36, 46.
- Henchin, Marquis de: letter to, cited, 389.
- Henry, Patrick: Galvez's letter to, 312-316.
- Héres, Tomás de: Bolívar's statement to, cited, 292.
- Herndon, Lieut. William Lewis: instructions to, 148; report, cited, 150; influence of report, 156, 162.
- Herrera, José M. (Mex. sec'y): letters to, cited, 260.
- Herrera y Tordesillas, Antonio: errors by, 40; writings, cited, 36, 41, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 58, 61, 457.
- Hidalgo y Costilla, Miguel: Mex. national hero, 298.
- Hill, John Joseph: appointed fellow, 341.
- Hill, Roscoe R.: activities, 103; *Descriptive catalogue*, cited, 103, 196, 212-213.
- Hills, E. C.: goes to Indiana University, 476.
- Hise, Elijah: in Central Amer., 428.
- Hispanic American courses in U. S.: notices of, 342-351.
- Hispanic Society of America: name, 466; changes in staff of, 476; ship said to be in care of, 335.
- Hispano, Cornelio: pseud. of Ismael Lopez (q. v.).
- Historia documentada*, cited, 265.

- History: growth of study of, 2; needs of science of, 4.
- Hodge, Frederick Webb (ed.): *Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca*, cited, 50.
- Holland: *See* Netherlands.
- Holy Alliance: Span. relations with, 262; attitude toward recognition, 266; designs, 290.
- Honduras: boundary of New Spain, 57; Columbus explores, 42; Span. in, 55; Cortés dominates, 55-56; Cortés in, 67; Saavedra in, 56; claims to, ignored, 57; new gov. in, 68; treaty betw., and Spain, 90; favors confederated state, 427; revolution in, 430; libraries in, 338.
- Hopkins, E. A.: special agent, 265.
- Horcasitas, Viceroy: memorials to, cited, 398.
- House, Ralph E.: notice, 476.
- House documents*: cited, 150, 263.
- House Executive docs.*: cited, 129, 131, 133, 135-138, 141, 143, 144.
- House Miscellaneous docs.*: cited, 150.
- House Reports*: cited, 243.
- Huancabamba: Pizarro at, 455.
- Huanuco: architecture of, 418.
- Huata: architecture of, 418.
- Hull, C. H.: guarantor of REVIEW, 16.
- Humboldt, Alexander von: writings, cited, 150, 393.
- Huntington, Archer: knighted, 341; excerpt of letter from, 22.
- Hurtado, Domingo: letters to, cited, 405.
- Hurtado de Mendoza, Bartolomé: commands expedition, 67.
- I**BERO Americans: connotation, 336.
- Iberville, Pierre le Moyne d': in Mississippi, 457.
- Iguala, Plan of: its author, 251.
- Imports: in treaties, 75. *See also* Commerce.
- Inca. *See* Maury.
- Incas: empire of, 417-418; size of empire, 418; gov't. of, 418-419; ancestors of present Andean people, 419.
- Indemnities: in treaties, 84-85; Spain claims, 88; Brazil pays, 143.
- Independence: negotiations for recognition of, in South Amer., 70-91; how prepared in South Amer., 240-241; first declaration of, from Spain, 241; moved toward, checked, 243; declaration of, in Span. Amer., 245; in Span. Amer., 252-253; Clay favors, 248-249; Span. attitude toward, 253.
- India: goods from, traded in Mex., 389-390.
- Indians: colonization restricted by, 45-46; hostile to Span., 53, 54, 58; uprisings, 54; under management of Cortés, 59; granted to Cortés, 62; conversion of, provided for, 67; compelled to wear clothes, 389; in Andean countries, 417, 421; how gov. in Andean countries, 419-420; coast and mountain differentiated, 420; docs. regarding, 366-367; Apaches, 226, 228; Yumas, 228.
- Indies (Span.): revolutionary *juntas* in, 240-241.
- Industries: in New Spain, 393; Ballivián promotes, 414; ancient, in South Amer., 418; need of, in Andean countries, 424.
- Infantado, Duke del: Everett's relations with, 71.
- Ingavi: battle of, 405-406.
- "Institutional background of Span. Amer. history", 24-39.
- Instituto Histórico y Geográfico: founded, 208.
- Instructions: issued to officials, 126, 152.
- International law: in Brazil and U. S., 137.
- Iquitos (Peru): Amazon navigable to, 146.
- Irisarri, Antonio José de: Bland calls on, 131-132.
- Irrigation: in South Amer., 418.
- Isabel (Isabella) I.: rebukes Guzmán, 66; her orders to Guzmán, 67. *See also* Catholic Kings.

- Isabel (Isabella) II.: inherits Span. crown, 72; recognizes independence of South Amer. states, 85, 86, 87, 90.
- Isabella (settlement): abandoned, 41.
- Islands: Canaries—*audiencia* in, 34. Chinchá—Spain seizes, 88; confederation of, 417. Cozumel—colonization of, conceded, 57-58; included in *audiencia* of New Spain, 60-62. Cuba—name, 48; conquered by Span., 28; filibustering expeditions to, 153; Bolívar plans expedition to, 278; relations of U. S. to, 288; libraries in, 338. Española—Columbus at, 40; men enlisted in, 42; expedition sails from, 43; justice in, 43-44; Santa María separated from, 45; colonization base, 48. Fernandina (Cuba)—colonized, 48. Jamaica—name, 48. Gallo—Pizarro in, 453. Ladrones—receive *situado*, 461. Luzon—trades with New Spain, 389-390. Mallorca—*audiencia* in, 39. Moluccas—Span. ambitions in, 462; subsidy used in, 463. Philippines—included in field of REVIEW, 13; Span. conquer, 28; Peruvians desire to trade in, 394-395; *situado* in, 461-464; aided from Mex., 462; sources of revenue in, 462; expenses of govt. in, increase, 462; tobacco monopoly in, 464. Porto Rico—colonized, 48; Bolívar plans expedition to, 278. Santiago (Jamaica)—colonized, 48; colonization base, 48. Santo Domingo—*audiencia* in, 34, 55, 60; colonization base, 41, 49, 54; first permanent Amer. settlement in, 41; revolt encouraged in, 57; Span. flee from, 460. Tigre—Brit. seize, 428.
- Iturbide, Agustín de (Mex. liberator and emperor): declared emperor, 260; Wilkinson advises, 163-180; activities, 251; letters by, cited, 251.
- JALAPA:** fair at, influenced by Manila galleon, 389.
- Jalisco: Guzmán in and near, 65-66.
- Jamaica letters: cited, 294, 295.
- Jameson, J. Franklin: encourages founding of this REVIEW, 10-11, 14; chairman of nominating committee, 15; thanked, 264; report by, 19, 196-197; "A new historical journal", 2-7.
- Jefferson, Thomas: activities, 239; territory claimed by, 458; letters to, cited, 257-258.
- Jesuits: in Brazil, 146; church in Panama, 449.
- Jews: in Spain, 38.
- Johnson, William Henry: *Hist. of Amer. peace movement*, cited, 193; *Pioneer Span. in N. A.*, cited, 41.
- Johnston, J. T. M.: *World patriots*, cited, 270.
- Johnston, Samuel B.: *Letters*, reviewed, 107-112.
- Jones, C. K.: aid, acknowledged, 100; bibliographical and other notes by, 114-116, 200-201, 232-233, 371-372, 380, 381, 492-493; reviews by, 184-186; "Recent acquisitions in the Library of Congress", 480-481.
- João VI. (king of Portugal): leaves Brazil, 265.
- Journal of the executive proceedings of the Senate:* cited, 261-262.
- Juan I. (king of Castile): increases *audiencia*, 33.
- Juan II. (king of Castile): changes royal council, 34.
- Juan, Jorge, and Antonio de Ulloa: *Voyage to South America*, cited, 401.
- Judges: in Spain, 30; ecclesiastical, 30, 35. *See also* Courts and Justice.
- Junin: victory at, 287.
- Justice: officials of, in colonies, 28-29; administered by *audiencia*, 30; administration in colonies, 42; exercised by Cortés, 62; appeals, 30, 31, 62-63; in treaties, 82. *See also* Courts and Judges.

- KING**: final appeals heard by, 31.
- Kino, Eubesius, S. J.: writings edited, 102.
- Klein, Julius: member of organization committee of this REVIEW, 14; member of its editorial board, 19; activities, 102; *The Mesta*, notice, 339-340.
- Kohl Collection: cited, 48.
- Kosciusko, Tadeusz: O'Leary compares Bolívar to, 274.
- Kuykendall, Ralph: appointed fellow, 341.
- LABRA**, Rafael María de: notice, 498.
- La Condamine: journey (1744), 146.
- Lafayette, Marie Jean Paul Yves Roch Gilbert de Motier, Marquis de: Bolívar's letter to, 276.
- La Fuente, ———: letter to, cited, 290.
- La Garita: fort in Peru, 454.
- La Guaira: U. S. commercial agent in, 244.
- La Huaca (La Guaca): Pizarro at, 454.
- La Paz (Bolivia): social influences in, 422-423.
- La Plata (United Provinces): declare independence, 245; possess stable govt., 249; constitution for, promulgated, 251; conditions in, discussed, 252; compared to Colombia, 294. *See also* Argentina.
- La Plata, Baron of the: *See* Rio da Prata.
- La Navidad: Span. settlement at, 40-41.
- Lakes: Managua, 430; Nicaragua, 48, 54-55, 429; Titicaca, 417.
- Land: plan for selling for colony, 411-412; in Andean countries, 419-420.
- Landgrants: to conquistadors, 50, 62-64.
- Landholders: absentee, decreasing, 423.
- Lansing, Robert: excerpt of letter from, 23.
- Larco Herrera, Victor: estate of, 420.
- La Salle, René Robert Cavélier, Sieur de: suggests name "Louisiana", 458.
- Las Casas, Francisco de: Olid captures, 55.
- Las Ygueras: under *audiencia* of New Spain, 60-62.
- "Latin America": wrong use of name, 199-200; term of, 464-467. *See* America, Hispanic.
- Latham, Richard E.: translation by, 481.
- La Valleja, ———: recruits Uruguayan army, 128.
- Law: in Louisiana, 460; Span., 32-33, 460; Span. colonial, 33, 389.
- Laws: of *adelantados*, 28-29; Bolivian, 86; Chilean, 85; Mex., 75-76; Span., 461; Uruguayan, 207. *See also* Cédulas and Decrees.
- Lawsuits: with crown, 68-69. *See also* Justice and kindred captions.
- Lawyers: in royal council, 35.
- Lee, Charles: letter to, 305-306.
- Legajo: defined, 209.
- Le Gentil de la Galaisière, Guillaume Joseph Hyacinthe Jean Baptiste: *Voyage*, cited, 463.
- Leis do Brazil*: cited, 161.
- Leland, Waldo G.: acts as trustee, 16.
- León (Span. kingdom and province): leads in Span. consolidation, 25-26; relation of nobles in, to king, 26-27; *adelantados* of, 29.
- León (town in Amer.): founded, 47-48; location and importance, 48; Córdoba in, 55; Pedrarias in, 68.
- LeRoy, James A.: "Philippine Situation", cited, 461.
- Level, Lino Duarte: writings, cited, 270, 381.
- Letrados*: functions, 29.
- Lewis, Sen. James H.: cited, 204.
- Lewis, Samuel (ex-sec'y of Panama): "Cathedral of Old Panama", 447-453.

- Libraries: Inter-American, 195-196; in various countries, 337-338; promoters of Pan Americanism and cultural centers, 486-491; as distributing centers, 489-490. Names—Bancroft, 211, 350; Congressional, 100, 102, 197, 211, 232, 426, 480-482, 500; Hispanic Society of America, 197; Howard Memorial, 197; Missouri Historical Society, 197; Newark Free, 203; Newberry, 100, 102, 197, 211; New York Public, 196, 197; Northwestern University, 341; Univ. of California, 211; Univ. of Illinois, 197; Univ. of Texas, 211; Wisconsin Historical Society, 197.
- Lichtenstein, Walter: notice, 341; note by, 403; paper prepared under direction of, 403-404.
- Lima (Peru): Herndon in, 148; social influences in, 422-423.
- List of Atlases*: notice, 500.
- Liversant, ———: projects expedition, 410.
- Livingston, Edward: activities, 460; letters to and by, 264.
- Lobo, Admiral ———: superseded, 136.
- López, Ismael (pseud. of Cornelio Hispano): *Diario de Bucaramanga* cited, 270, 294.
- López, Nicolas F.: *Attitude of Ecuador*, cited, 193.
- Lopez, ———: filibuster, 460.
- López de Salcedo, Diego: appointed gov. of Honduras, 57; arrival, 68.
- López de Velasco, Juan: *Geografía*, cited, 48, 53.
- Loubat Prize: winners, 380.
- Louisiana: Span. flag in, 457-460; present extent first defined, 458; eastern, ceded to Eng., 458; Span. in, 459-460; Canary Islanders in, 459-460; Hisp. Amer. students in, 460; Span. influence in, 460.
- Lowery, Woodbury: *Span. settlement*, cited, 48-50.
- Lozano y Lozano, F.: *El maestro*, cited, 270.
- Luitweiler, ———: *Effects of the present European war*, cited, 193.
- Luján, Francisco: cited, 79-80.
- Lummis, Charles F.: notice, 373; *Spanish Pioneers*, 373.
- MCADOO, W. G.: excerpt of letter from, 23.
- McCaleb, W. F.: activities, 104, 117; writings, cited, 103.
- McDonald, J. G.: attitude toward REVIEW, 12.
- Machinery: sent to Bolivia, 408.
- Machu Pichu: architecture in, 418.
- MacNutt, Francis Augustus: *Fernando Cortes*, cited, 51-53, 56, 67.
- Madison, Pres. James: issues neutrality proclamation, 243; claims territory, 458; message, cited, 242; letter to, cited, 258.
- Madrid (Spain): *audiencia* in, 33; treaty signed at, 90.
- Magistrates: early Span., 28-30.
- Maipu: centenary of battle of, 331-332.
- Malling, Capt. Thomas: Bolívar's relations with, 278.
- Mancini, Jules: *Bolívar*, cited, 270, 273.
- Mandationes*: defined, 26.
- Manifeto: Span., 255.
- Manila: remittances to, 461.
- Manning, William R.: member of editorial board, 19; activities, 102, 193-194; book review by, 181-184, 441-445; "An early diplomatic controversy", 100, 123-145; "State-ments", cited, 125.
- Manufactures: Span. policy toward, 393.
- Manuscripts: in various libraries (originals and transcripts), 101-102, 197, 211, 232, 403-404, 426, 480-481; copied for H. I. Priestley, 218-219; of State Dept., cited, 241-243, 262, 264, 266, 268; on New Granada, cited, 264; on *Provincias Internas*, cited, 365-366, 368-369.

- Maps: various, cited, 41, 48, 49, 66, 198, 199, 232.
- Maranguape, Visconde de: signs opinion, 157.
- Marcy, William Learned: reopens Amazon question, 154.
- María Cristina: queen regent, 72; recognizes independence of Mex., 81, 83; address, cited, 76.
- Marshall, John: opinion cited, 239-240.
- Marshall, Thomas Maitland: attitude toward REVIEW, 12; book review by, 327-329.
- Martin, Percy Alvin: guarantor of REVIEW, 16; excerpt of letter from, 20-21; "Influence of U. S. on opening of Amazon", 100, 146-162.
- Martin, T. P.: attitude toward REVIEW, 12.
- Martínez de la Rosa, Francisco (Span. min. of state): activities, 72-73, 85-86, 254-255; letter to, cited, 254.
- Martyr, Peter: cited, 36.
- Maryland: hist. periodicals in, 4.
- Massip, Dr. Salvador: activities, 104.
- Mauzy, Lieut. Matthew Fontaine: Humboldt eulogizes, 150; influenced by Herndon, 150; his conception of the Amazon, 150-151; South Amer. attitude toward, 153, 157-158; his influence, 156-157, 162; memorial, cited, 150, 151, 152, 154.
- Mayor España: identified, 65.
- Means, Philip Ainsworth: notice, 373-374; "Footnote to history of conquest of Peru", 453-457; "Race and society in Andean countries", 415-425; bibliogr. note, 494.
- Medellín: founded, 52.
- Medina, J. T.: "Dos obras de viajeros," 106-114.
- Medina del Campo: *audiencia* in, 33.
- Mello, Baron Homem de (Brazilian statesman): death, 205.
- Memoria de la secretaria de estado*: cited, 259.
- Memoria que presenta el ministro de estado*: cited, 88.
- Memoria del ministro de relaciones exteriores*: cited, 73, 85.
- Memorials: cited, 71, 398.
- Mendieta, Salvador: *Enfermedad de Centro-América*, cited, 184.
- Mendoza, Antonio de: first viceroy of New Spain, 64-65.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón: writings, cited, 199-200, 336, 467.
- Mercado de Peñaloza, ———: *oidor* of Panama, 455.
- Merinos*: function, 31.
- Merriman, Roger Bigelow: notice, 339; *Rise of the Span. empire*, reviewed and cited, 104, 373, 435-441.
- Mestizos*: defined, 417; status, 421-422. "Mexican oil situation", 472-474.
- Mexicans: status, 82; interested in Manila galleon, 389.
- Mexia: rebuilt, 52.
- Mexico (city and country): Span. conquest, 28, 50-53; jurisdictions in, defined, 69; extent, 81, 260; Central Amer. separates from, 262; compared to Colombia, 294; *audiencia* in, 34, 60, 62, 64; cabildo of, 60; consulado in, 398; dept. of industry, etc., in, 475; colonization of, projected, 48; gulf of, 50; confusion and disorder in, 56, 296; revolution in, 251; enforces financial scheme, 75; Manila galleon interests in, 389; silk in, 394; New Orleans trade with, 460; an economic resource, 461; aids Philippines, 462; oil situation in, 472-474; relations with Spain, 75, 79, 81-82; relations with U. S., 82, 83, 260, 261, 263, 269; research in, 101, 102; Bolívar's attitude toward, 293; libraries in, 338; books on, cited, 371, 480-481; study of race appreciation in, 415-416. *See also* New Spain.
- México á través de los siglos*, cited, 83.
- México, su evolución social*: cited, 104.
- Michigan: hist. periodicals in, 4.
- Michoacan: its conquest, 52; abandoned and reoccupied, 52; its capital, 65; Guzmán debarred from, 66.

- Mines: in Peru, 148; in Bolivia, 407.
- Minnesota: hist. periodicals in, 4-5.
- Miraflores, Marquis of (Span. *ambassador*): activities, 73.
- Miranda, Francisco de: capitulates to Spain, 243; a national hero, 298; a revolutionist, 409.
- Missions: Jesuit, in Brazil, 146; California, 221-222, 356, 370-371.
- Mitré, General Bartolomé: defeats Urquiza, 87.
- Mojos (Bolivia): colony at, 410.
- Moll, Herman: *Thesaurus*, cited, 340.
- Moller, Nicolas D. C.: Venezuelan consul, 264.
- Money: appropriated for ecclesiastical uses, 499. *See also* Revenues and kindred captions.
- Monopolies: evolution of, in Spain, 38-39; tobacco, in Philippines, 464.
- Monroe, James (sec'y of state and pres.): difference in his cabinet, 123; negotiations regarding Brazil, 125-126; attitude toward and activities concerning Span. Amer., 242, 246, 251, 254-255, 258-260; messages, etc., cited, 243, 248, 249-250, 252-253, 257, 263, 268-269; letters to and by, cited, 246-247, 257-258.
- Monroe Doctrine: reason for, 124; early interpretation, 124-125; first application of, 105; obligations of, 265-266.
- Monroe Papers: cited, 250, 258.
- Monsalve, J. D.: *El ideal político del libertador*, cited, 270, 275, 277, 279, 287.
- Montalvo, Juan: compares Washington and Bolívar, 274.
- Montalvo, W. F.: notice, 478.
- Montejo, Francisco de: titles and activities, 57-58.
- Monterey, Conde de (viceroys of Mex.): letters, cited, 394-395.
- Montero y Vidal, José: *Historia*, cited, 463.
- Montesclaros, Marqués de (viceroys of Mex.): letters, cited, 394.
- Montesinos, Fernando: *Los anales del Peru*, cited, 454, 455, 457.
- Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Sécondat: *Spirit of the law*, cited, 286.
- Monteverde, Domingo: Miranda surrenders to, 243.
- Montevideo (Uruguay): remains loyal, 126; Biddle in, 138.
- Montezumas: empire of, conquered, 51.
- Montilla, Gen. Mariano: activities, 73; letter to, cited, 296.
- Moore, John Bassett: *Digest*, cited 71-73, 149, 154-156, 240, 243.
- Moors: Span. Struggle with, 26-27; in Spain, 38.
- Morazan, Francisco: national hero, 298.
- Morelos, José María Teelo: national hero, 298.
- Morga, Antonio de: *Sucesos*, cited, 391, 462.
- Morgan, George: letter from Galvez to, 308-310.
- Morgan, Henry: burns Panama, 453.
- Moriscoes: in Spain, 38.
- Morris, Gouverneur: instructions to, 239.
- Moses, Bernard: *Establishment of Spanish rule*, cited, 54, 62.
- Mountains. *See* Andes.
- Municipalities: Span., how organized, 27-28; govt. in, 28; royal authority in, 31; powers, 38.
- Munro, Dana G.: *Five republics of Central Amer.*, cited, 193; reviewed, 441-444.
- Museo Social Argentino: library given to, 195-196.
- Myers, Irene T.: attitude toward REVIEW, 12.
- NABUCO** de Araujo, Joaquim (Brazilian minister of justice) attitude toward opening of Amazon, 160; draws decree opening Amazon, 161; *Um estadista do imperio*, cited, 156, 157, 159, 160, 161.

- Name "Latin America": 335-337.
- Napoleon: policy toward Spain, 240.
- Nariño, Antonio: national hero, 298.
- Narvaez, Pánfilo de: expedition by, 49-50; grants to, 64.
- Nasca: confederation of, 417.
- National Academy of History (Colombia): member of, 182.
- Native Sons of the Golden West: found fellowships, 209; fellowship of, announced, 341.
- Navarre (country): leader in Spanish Consolidation, 25-26; adelantado of, 29.
- Navarro, Antonio de: Span. commander in Peru, 454.
- Navigation: in treaties, 74, 85; Brazil refuses to open Amazon to, 148; of Amazon restricted, 149; Brazilian rivers opened to, 161. *See also* Ships.
- Negroes: in Andean countries, 417. *See also* Slaves and Slavetrade.
- Netherlands (Holland): compared to Spain, 39.
- Neutrality: U. S. observes, 243, 253, 291; Russia declares, 262-263.
- Nevarés, ———: cited, 91.
- New Galicia (Span. colony): identified, 66. *See also* Nueva Galicia.
- New Granada (Span. colony, and Hisp. Amer. state): included in Great Colombia, 251; measures taken by 84; notes to minister in, 155; declares independence, 241; adopts provisional constitution, 263; recognized by U. S., 264; MSS. on, cited, 264; Bolívar's memoir to, 283-284.
- New Mexico: archives of, 101.
- New Orleans: filibusters in, 460; trades with Hisp. Amer., 460.
- New Spain: error regarding, 40; founding of, 50-57; Cortés, head of, 51, 53; extent under Cortés, 57; delimited, 57; Guatemala separated from, 58; New Galicia included in, 66; part of Mex., 81; *audiencia* and vice royalty established in, 58-65; the first continental vice royalty, 69; grants to Cortés in, 62-63; *audiencia*, hostile to Cortés, 64; first viceroy in, 64-65; Guzmán restricted in, 66; market for cargo of Manila galleon, 389; silk culture in, 393. *See also* Mexico.
- New World: ready for independence, 295.
- New York (city): Bolívar in, 273.
- Nicaragua: Span. in, 55; Cortés plans conquest of, 56; Córdoba in, 57; part of Castilla del Oro, 67; separated from *id.*, 68; delimitation, 67-69; treaties made by, 90, 428, 432; libraries in, 338; canal across, projected, 426; favors confederated state, 427; Brit. activities in, 430-433.
- Nicuesa, Diego de: Veragua granted to, 41; colonization by, 41-44; appointments, 42; expelled from colony, 43-44.
- Nito (settlement): founded, 55.
- Nitrate: causes dispute, 404.
- Nombre de Dios (settlement): attempts to colonize unsuccessful, 43; founded, 47.
- Notes and comment, 100-105, 192-208, 331-351, 445-479.
- Noticias secretas*: cited, 400.
- Nova Scotia: limit of Gómez's exploration, 49.
- Novísima Recopilación*: cited, 29, 32, 34, 35.
- Nuestra Señora de la Victoria (town): founded, 57.
- Nueva Andalucia (colony): confused with Urabá, 41; not granted to Ojeda, 40.
- Nueva Galicia (colony): founding of, 65-69. *See also* New Galicia.
- Nueva Vizcaya (colony): docs. on, 215, 352.
- Núñez de Balboa, Vasco: error concerning, 40, 46; in America, 43-46; becomes leader, 43; explorations by, 44; discovers Pacific, 45; king reward, 46; activities, 447; executed, 46; correspondence, cited, 219.

- OBREGÓN**, Gen. Álvaro: in Washington, 206.
- O'Hara, John F., C. S. C.: notice, 351; *Readings in Latin American Church History*, cited, 117.
- O'Higgins, Bernardo: dictator of Chile, 250; national hero, 298; activities, 245-246.
- Oidor* (Span. Official): functions, 32.
- Ojeda, Alonso de (Span. explorer): colonization effected by, 41-44; appointments, 42; proceedings against, 43-44.
- Olafeta, Pedro Antonio de (Span. gen.): letters to, cited, 295.
- Olavarria y Ferrari, Enrique: *México independiente*, cited, 83.
- O'Leary, Daniel Florence: his estimate of Bolívar, 274; letters to, cited, 287, 297; collection cited, 182; cited, 291.
- Olid, Cristobal de (conquistador): activities, 52, 54-55; assassinated, 55.
- Olinda, Marquis de (Brazilian minister): *Relatorio do Ministerio do Imperio*, cited, 158; report, cited, 158; letter to, cited, 159-160.
- Olivart, Ramón de Dulnau y de Olivart Marqués de: *Colección de los Tratados*, cited, 82, 84, 87, 90.
- Oliveira Lima, Manoel: his library, 498; *Don Joao VI no Brazil*, cited, 265.
- Ollantaytambo (Indian village): architecture in, 418.
- Olmedo: *Audiencia* meets in, 33.
- Omasuyos: Peruvian province, 405, 410.
- Orcutt, Reginald: reads paper, 100.
- Ordenamiento Real*: cited, 29.
- Orders, royal: cited, 68 (*see also Decrees*).
- Ordinances: Alcalá, cited, 32; Toro, cited, 31, 32, 33.
- Orea, Telesforo de: first diplomatic agent from South America, 241; his instructions and activities, 241-242.
- Orellana, Francisco de: journey (1541), 146.
- Orestes Ferrera,———: "La América Latina y la gran guerra," cited, 200.
- Organ: in Panama cathedral, 451.
- O'Reilly, Gen. Alejandro: docs., cited, 216.
- Orientals: in Andean countries, 417.
- Orozco y Berra, Manuel (conquistador): conquests, 52.
- Orozco,———: *Legislación y jurisprudencia sobre terrenos baldíos*, cited 64.
- Oritz de Landazuri, letters, cited, 393.
- Otero, José P.: *La revolución Argentina*, notice, 492-493.
- Oviedo y Valdés. *See* Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés.
- PABUR** (Pabor, Pavor): Pizarro at, 454.
- Pacheco, Joaquín Francisco (Span. sec'y of state): negotiates treaty, 86.
- Pacific Ocean in history*: cited, 9.
- Padilla,———: member of Spanish Council, 36.
- Paéz, José Antonio (pres. of Venezuela): sends envoy to Madrid, 73; *Autobiografía*, cited, 73; letters to, cited, 293.
- Paita (Peru): Cavendish sacks, 456.
- Palafox y Mendoza,———: letters to, cited, 399.
- Palmer, Thomas W., Jr.: *Guide*, notice, 230-231; *id.*, reviewed, 323-324.
- Palo Alto (California): Amer. Hist. Ass'n in, 8.
- Palomeque, Alberto: *Orijines*, cited, 245-246.
- Paltsits, Victor H.: favors REVIEW, 11, 12, 14.
- Pan Americanism: champions of, 124-125, 334; promotion of, 482; Second, Congress, 481.
- Panama (Panamá): town, province, and isthmus): location, 46; old road across, 47; settlements projected, 41, 45; founded, 47, 447-448; *audiencia* in, 34; royal treasury in, 449; Span. in, 46, 54, 67-68; colonization base

- 47; cathedral of Old Panama, 447-453; episcopal see transferred to, 448; site for cathedral chosen, 448; new cathedral begun, 449; *id.*, dedicated, 450; *id.*, described, 450-541; fire destroys city, 452-453; New Orleans trade with, 460.
- Pánuco: boundary of New Spain, 57; in *Audiencia* of New Spain, 60-62; Garay explores near, 53; Cortés's expedition against, 53; gov. for, appointed, 57.
- Paraguay: treaty with Spain negotiated, 88-89; U. S. recognizes, 265; libraries in, 338.
- Paraná: seat of govt., 87.
- Pardo de Tavera, T. H.: *Biblioteca Filipina*, cited, 461.
- Pareja, José Manuel (Span. admiral): negotiates treaty, 88.
- Passports: given by Span. ambassador, 73; Raguet demands, 140.
- Pavon: battle of, 87.
- Paxson, Frederic Logan: *Independence of S. A. republics*, cited, 240, 244, 245, 247.
- Paz-Soldan, Mateo; and Mariano Felipe: *Geografía*, cited, 457.
- Pedrias (Pedro Arias de Avila). See Dávila.
- Pedro I.: declared emperor of Brazil, 265.
- Pedro, Dom: his motives feared, 124; attitude toward opening of Amazon, 160-161.
- Pena, Dr. Carlos María de (Uruguayan minister to U. S.): death, 205.
- Pendleton, J. S. (U. S. chargé in Argentina): activities, 264-265.
- Peralta, Manuel María de: *Costa Rica*, cited, 68-69.
- Peraza, Vicente (O. P.): second bishop of Darién, 447; death, 448.
- Pereira da Silva, João Manuel: *Historia*, cited, 265.
- Pereira Pinto, Antonio: *Apointamentos*, cited, 267.
- Pereyra, Carlos: writings cited, 270, 275, 288, 289, 493.
- Pérez, Silvestre: assists Ojeda, 42.
- Pérez Dasmariñas, Gómez.: letters, cited, 396.
- Pérez de Castro y Colmera, Evaristo (Span. official): negotiates treaty, 84-85.
- Pérez y López, Antonio Xavier: *Teatro*, cited, 26, 29.
- Periodicals: use of historical, 3; historical, named, 4-5; various kinds of historical, needed, 5-6; lists of recent articles in, 121-122, 237-239, 385-388, 503-508. Names—*Amer. Hist. Rev.*, 2, 9, 10, 21, 255, 262, 378, 461; *Amer. Jl. of Intern. Law*, 123, 195; *Americas (The)*, 206, 207, 467-468; *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, 4; *Aurora (La)*, 107; *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*, 457; *Bulletin of the Ministerio de Fomento*, 475; *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 4; *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, 5, 117, 351, 494; *Christian Science Monitor*, 8; *Commerce Reports*, 231, 468-471, 475, 495-496, 498; *Congressional Reports*, 154; *Correio Mercantil*, 152, 156; *Cuba Contemporánea*, 270, 288; *Diario de Bucaramanga*, 270, 294; *Diario de las Sesiones de Cortes*, 76-80; *Estudiante Latino-Americano (El)*, 375, 377, 496, 497; *Forschungen zur Brandenburgisch-Preussischen Geschichte*, 4; *Hamburger Nachrichten*, 158; *Hispania*, 464, 497; *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 6, 8, 11-22, 116, 335, 337; *History Teachers' Magazine*, 340; *Iberia*, 493; *Ibero Amer. Hist. Rev.* (see *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*); *Inter-America*, 194, 199-200, 336, 378-380, 499-500; *Jl. of Negro Hist.*, 5; *Jl. of Race Development*, 116; *Mil. Historian and Economist*, 5; *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, 244, 268; *National Geog. Mag.*, 459; *Nat'l Intelligencer*, 151, 255, 256, 259, 261; *N. Y. Jl. of Commerce*, 158; *Niles Register*, 256;

- Novedades (Las)*, 465; *Palacio (El)*, 500; *Penn. Mag. of Hist.*, 4; *Pittsburg Observer*, 335; *Pol. Sci. Quarterly*, 125, 339; *Prensa (La)*, 335; *Reforma Social (La)*, 200-201; *Restaurada*, 406; *Revista Americana*, 266; *Revista Argentina de Ciencias Políticas*, 201; *Revista de Bibliografía*, 487; *Revista de Derecho, Historia y Letras*, 233; *Revista de Filosofía*, 201; *Revista Histórica*, 373, 375; *Revista de Indias (La)*, 377-378; *Revista Nueva*, 116; *Revista Trimestre do Instituto Historico*, 147; *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, 4; *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 4; *Revue des Études Juives*, 4; *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, 4; *Revue Historique*, 4; *Sol (El)*, 335-337; *South American*, 231; *Southwestern Hist. Quarterly*, 209; *Union* 151; *Vanguardia (Manila)*, 374-375.
- Pernambuco (Brazil): separatist tendency in, 123.
- Pesquisidor*: defined, 32.
- Pétion, Alexandre Sabés (Haitian pres.): Washington compared to, 274-275; letter to, cited, 274-275.
- Petre, F. Loraine: *Simón Bolívar*, cited, 270.
- Peru: identified, 86; Amazon River in, 146; mining in, 148; an economic resource, 461; Span. conquer, 28; *audiencia* in, 34; settlement in, projected, 46; first Span. settlement in, 454; first Christians in, 454; footnote to history of conquest of, 453-457; Chinese trade prohibited in, 398-400; trade in Chinese goods in, 402; Span. defeated in, 128; Bolívar in, 292; independence of, declared and acknowledged, 86, 250-251; treaty with Spain negotiated, 88; Brazilian relations with, 149; U. S. relations with, 155, 262, 269, 296-297; Bolivian relations with, 404-405; Ballivián flees to, 405; opens river to navigation, 161; weakness cause for fear, 290; immigration law in, 474; libraries in, 338.
- Perú de Lacroix, Luis: cited, 293-294.
- Peruvians: desire oriental trade, 394-395; invade Bolivia, 405.
- Philadelphia: Bolívar in, 273.
- Philip II., III., and IV. *See* Felipe II., III., and IV.
- Philippi, ———: head of projected Ger. colony, 412.
- Philippi, Dr. Julio E.: Chilean jurist and statesman, 412; notice, 478.
- Phillips, P. Lee: *Bernard Romans*, notice, 232.
- Pickett, J. C., envoy to Peru, 264.
- Picture: in Panama cathedral, 451.
- Pierce, Pres. Franklin: message, cited, 154.
- Pierson, W. W., Jr.: notice, 103, 351; *Syllabus*, notice, 381-382.
- Pineda, Alonso de: explorations, 48.
- Pinto. *See* Rio da Prata.
- Pinzon, Vicente: discoveries, 45, 146.
- Pisac: architecture of, 418.
- Pitman, Frank Wesley: *Development of Brit. W. Indies*, notice, 232.
- Piura (Piura-la-vieja): described, 455-456; abandoned, 456.
- Pizarro, Francisco: at Tumbes, 453-454; explorations, 454-455.
- Planas Suárez, Dr. Simón: *Los extranjeros en Venezuela*, review, 181-182.
- Poechos Puchiu: Pizarro at, 454.
- Poinsett, Joel R.: envoy to Mex., 260; speech, cited, 256.
- "Political readjustments of the mainland," 57-69.
- Ponce de León, Juan: explorations, 48.
- Ponce de León, Luis: investigates Cortés, 58-59; death, 59.
- Ponte Ribeyro, Dr. ———: negotiates treaty, 149.
- Popes: dispensation asked from, 407; Leo, 447; Urban VIII., 451.
- Population: capacity for, in Amazon Valley, 151.
- Ports: blockades must be effective, 129.
- Portugal: Brazil independent of, 124, 265; invaded, 265; protests recognition of Brazil, 267.

- Powell, Fred Wilbur: *Hall Jackson Kelly*, notice, 205-206.
- Powell, T. C.: attitude toward REVIEW, 12.
- Powers, H. W.: *U. S. in the war*, notice, 500.
- Prescott, William: *Ferdinand and Isabella*, cited, 36.
- Presidios Internos*: docs. on, 368-369.
- Prevost, John M.: chargé to Peru, 261.
- Priestley, Herbert Ingram: activities, 103, 350; docs. copied for, 218-219; excerpt of letter from, 21; *José de Galvez*, cited, 380.
- Prizes: brought to U. S., 143.
- Proceedings of Amer. Soc. of E. and W. Baton Rouge*: cited, 374.
- Proceedings of Amer. Soc. of Intern. Law*: cited, 125.
- Proclamations: neutrality, 243.
- Property: in treaties, 74, 75, 81, 84, 86, 87.
- Provincias Internas*: docs. on, cited, 365-366.
- Public Statutes at Large*: cited, 244, 247.
- Publications, Recent: 119-122.
- Puerto de la Paz: Cortés founds, 67.
- Pueyrredon, Juan Martin de (pres. of Argentina): relations with U. S., 101, 245; activities, 246.
- Puga, Vasco de: *Provisiones*, cited, 60-67.
- Puno: treaty signed at, 405.
- Putnam, Ruth: *California*, review, 92-94.

- QUESADA, Vicente G.: *La vida intelectual en América*, notice, 232-233.
- Quevedo, Juan de, O. S. F.: first bishop of Panama, 447.
- Quezaltenango (Indian village): Span. settlement at, 54.
- Quiroga, Pedro de (*visitador* in Mex.): activities, 398-399.
- Quito (Peru): Span. jurisdiction over ceases, 84; presidency of, included in Gt. Colombia, 251; center of ancient culture, 418, social factors in, 422-423.

RACE and society in Andean countries: 415-425.

Race appreciation: defined, 415-416; need of, 423-425.

Raguet, Condy (U. S. consul in Brazil): characterized, 125, 143-145; charged with bribe-taking, 145; proposed as chargé to Brazil, 125-126; negotiations by, 126-145; conduct approved, 133-134; reprimanded, 141-142; Adams's comment on, 144; his attitude toward Brazil, 134-135; his attitude in *Spark* case, 138-140; his reason for leaving Brazil, 144; letter and report, cited, 138, 140-141.

Railways: Brazilian, 207.

Raimondi, Antonio: *El Perú*, cited, 454, 457.

Ramírez, Hernando de (bishop of Panama): saves cathedral furnishings, 452; rebuilds cathedral, 452; death, 452.

Ramírez y Fernández Fontecha, Antonio Abad: *Economic conditions in Honduras*, cited, 193.

Read, Benjamin M.: notice, 500.

Rebello, José Silvestre (first Brazilian envoy to U. S.): chargé at Washington, 123; formally rec'd by U. S., 124, 269; activities, 124, 142-143, 266-267; letters by and to, cited, 143-144, 266-267; his instructions, cited, 265-266.

Recent publications: listed, 119-122, 233-238, 382-388, 501-508.

Recognition of Span. colonies: 70-91.

Recopilacion: of Castile, cited 32-33; *de leyes de Indias*, cited, 36, 389, 391, 392, 396-398, 461; *de leyes y decretos de Venezuela*, cited, 83, 84, 86.

Recursos de fuerza: jurisdiction over, 35.

Regidores: powers and duties, 28.

Register of the Dept. of State: cited, 264.

Registro oficial de . . . Argentina: cited, 88, 245, 257.

Relatorio do ministerio do relações exteriores: cited, 159.

- Religion: in the colonies, 39.
- Repartimiento: Indians given in, 59.
- Requexo Salcedo, Juan: cited, 451.
- Residencia: defined, 29; of Cortes, 58-59; of Pedrarias, 68; autos de, 35.
- Revenues: from galleon trade, 462-463. *See also* "Taxation," etc.
- Revillagigido, Juan Vicente Güémez Pacheco de Padilla Horcasitas y Aguayo, Conde de: correspondence, cited, 219
- Revolutions: in *Hisp. Amer.*, 126, 239-240, 245, 249-253, 296, 404-405, 430-431, 458; books on Mexican, 371.
- Reybaud, Charles (*i.e.*, Joseph Charles: *Le Brésil*, cited, 153.
- Richardson James D.: *Compilation of messages . . . of the presidents*, cited, 242.
- Richman, Irving B.: writings, cited, 117.
- Ried, August: plans Ger. colonies, 411-414; letter, cited, 411.
- Rio-Branc, José Maria da Silva Paranhos, barão do; "O Brazil," etc., cited, 266.
- Rio de las Palmas: name and location, 4, 50; included under *audiencia* of New Spain, 60-62; Narvaez to explore, 49-50.
- Rio da Prata, Baron do (adm. Pinto Guedes): commands Brazilian fleet, 136.
- Rio de la Plata: United Provinces of, 123. *See also* Argentina.
- Rios, Pedro de los (conquistador): arrival, 68; hostile to Pedrarias, 68.
- Riva Agüero, José de la: *Descriptiva anónima*, cited, 394.
- Riva Palacio, Vicente (ed.): *Mexico*, cited, 390.
- Rivas, Angel César: writings, cited, 264, 277, 278, 279, 287, 288.
- Rivers: Amazon, 146-162; Belén (*see below*, Veragua); Beni, 410; Coatzacoalcas, 52; La Paz, 54; La Plata (Plate), 151, 408; Madeira, 148, 161; Marañón, 148; Mississippi, 146; Pánuco, 49, 53; Pilcomayo, 408, 410; R obueno, 412; Rio de las Palmas, 49-50; Rio del Fuerte, 67; Rio Grande del Darién, 43, 45-46; Rio Negro, 161; Rio Zacatula, 52; San Juan, 68, 430; São Francisco, 161; Segovia, 68; Tapajos, 161; Tocantuis, 161; Tolo-lotlan, 65; Veragua (Belén), 69.
- Rivier, Alphonse Pierre Octave: *Principes*, cited, 240.
- Riviera,———(Uruguayan official): joins insurgents, 128.
- Robertson, James Alexander: chairman organization committee, 14; member of editorial board, 19; elected managing editor, 21; reviews by, 92-94, 186-190, 329-330; *Guide*, cited, 101; "Spanish correspondence" (ed.), 299-316.
- Robertson, William: *History of America*, cited, 36.
- Robertson, William Spence: delegate to Buenos Aires, 9; guarantor of REVIEW, 16; member of editorial board, 19; activities, 102-103; communication by, 10; *Francisco de Miranda*, cited 243, 493; *Rise of the Span.-Amer. republics*, cited, 241, 251, 381, 499; "Beginnings of Span.-Amer. diplomacy," cited, 241, 244; "Documents," cited, 244; "First legations," 182, 268; "Recognition of the *Hisp. Amer. nations*," 239-269; "Recognition of Span. colonies," 70-91; "Relations of U. S. and Latin Amer. nations," cited, 193; "South America," cited, 125; "U. S. and Spain in 1822," cited, 255, 262.
- Rodney, Caesar A.: member of first diplomatic mission to Buenos Aires, 101, 244; minister to Argentina, 261, 269.
- Rodó, E. J.: writings, cited, 336, 467.
- Rodríguez Magarinos, Col. Manuel: activities, 409.
- Rogers, Woodes: *Cruising Voyage*, cited, 394.
- Ronquillo, Rodrigo: letters, cited, 395.

- Roorbach,———: *Effect of the present European war*, cited, 193.
- Root, Elihu: *Latin America*, review, 94-96.
- Ros, Francisco J.: address, cited, 208.
- Rosas, Juan Manuel: closes La Plata river, 408.
- Roscher, Wilhelm: *Span. Colonial system*, cited, 461.
- Rowe, Leo S.: excerpt of letter from, 20; *Effects of the European war upon* . . . *Chile*, cited, 193; *Id.*, upon . . . *Peru*, cited, 193.
- Rowland, Dunbar (ed.): *Official letter-books*, review, 96-99.
- Rubber: product of Peru, 146.
- Rush, Richard (U. S. Sec'y of State): instructions issued by, cited, 244-245.
- Russell, Jonathan: letters to, cited, 257.
- Russia: relations with U. S., 262-263.
- SAAVEDRA**, Hernando de: in Honduras, 56, 67.
- Sabin, Joseph: *Dictionary*, cited, 112.
- Saguna (Bolivia): colony at, 410.
- Salamanca (Yucatan): founded, 58.
- Salas, Dr. Carlos J.: works by, cited, 117.
- Salazar, José María (Colombian minister to U. S.): activities, 291.
- Salinas Loyola, Juan: cited, 455-456.
- Salvador, El: boundary of New Spain, 57; treaty betw., and Spain, negotiated, 90; libraries in, 338.
- Salvador (city in El Salvador): Span. in, 68.
- Sánchez, Manuel Segundo: *Bibliography of Venezuela*, cited, 233; *Iconografía del Libertador*, cited, 270; *Poema . . . y otras producciones*, notice, 233.
- Sande, Francisco (gov. of Philippines): letters, cited, 395.
- Sandoval, Gonzalo de (conquistador): activities, 52, 54; appointment, 60.
- San Esteban del Puerto (municipality) founded, 53; Guzmán at, 57.
- San Francisco (Calif.): Amer. Hist. Ass'n meets in, 8.
- San Francisco de Buena Esperanza de Payta (Peru): Span. settlement, 456.
- San Gil de Buenavista (Honduras): founded, 55.
- San Juan de Ulua (Span. settlement): Cortés in, 51.
- San Martín, Gen. José: national hero, 298; activities, 246, 250-251.
- San Miguel (Peru): Pizarro founds, 454.
- San Miguel de Culiacan: founded, 65.
- San Miguel de Guadalupe: location, 49; abandoned, 49.
- San Miguel de Piura (Peru): Spanish settlement, 455; identified, 456.
- San Salvador (country): expedition into, 54; favors confederated state, 427.
- San Sebastian: unsuccessful colonization attempt, 43.
- Santa Cruz, Francisco de: Major-domo of Cortés, 60.
- Santa-Cruz, Andrés: president of Bolivia (1828-38), 404; imprisoned in Chile, 406; transported to Europe (1846), 406.
- Santa Fe (N. M.): *Audiencia* in, 34.
- Santa María, Miguel (Mex. minister in Eng.): activities, 75-76, 81-82.
- Santa María de Belén (Isthmus of Panama): Span. settlement, 41.
- Santa María de la Antigua (la Antigua) del Darién: founded, 43, 447; location, 43; becomes independent colony, 45; capital removed from, 47; a colonization base, 47; loses pre-eminence, 448.
- Santander, Francisco P. (vice pres. of Colombia): originates "Pan Americanism," 288-289; invites U. S. to congress of Panama, 289; Bolívar approves his action, 292; letters to, cited, 275, 280, 292, 295.
- Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala (municipality): founded, 54.

- Santivañez, José María: *Vida del Gen. José Ballivián*, cited, 404, 405, 409, 410.
- São Vicente, Marquis de (Pimiento Bueno): attitude toward commerce on Amazon, 159, 161.
- Saraiva, José Antonio (Brazilian minister of marine): attitude toward commerce on Amazon, 159.
- Schoenrich, Otto: *Former Sen. Burton's trip to S. A.*, cited, 192; *Santo Domingo*, review, 444-446.
- Schooley & Co.: firm interested in S. A., 410.
- Schools: Span. Amer. normal of N. M., 103.
- Scott, James Brown: *Institut Américain*, cited, 192; *Instructions*, cited, 193; *Recommendations of Habana*, cited, 193; *Recommendations on international law*, cited, 193.
- Scroggs, ———: *Filibusters*, cited, 429.
- Schurz, William Lytle: notice, 479; "Manila, Peru, and the Manila galleon," 389-402; "The Philippine situado," 461-464.
- Schuyler, Eugene: *American diplomacy*, cited, 148, 153, 156.
- Seamen: impressment of, 132-133.
- Segovia (Spain): *audiencia* in, 33, 34.
- Segura de la Frontera (village): founded, 52; removal, 52.
- Senate (U. S.): activities, 257, 261, 262.
- Senate Documents*: cited, 247, 264.
- Senate Executive Journal*: cited, 264, 265.
- Seville (Spain): *audiencia* in, 34.
- Shepherd, William R.: encourages founding of this REVIEW, 11; member of organization committee of this REVIEW, 14; guarantor of this REVIEW, 16; advisory editor of this REVIEW, 19; aid from, acknowledged, 112; notice, 117, 338-339; excerpts of letters by, 21-22; "Bolívar and the U. S." 270-298.
- Sherwell, Guillermo A.: reviews by, 317-324.
- Ships: outfitted for expedition, 50-51, Span., 83-84, 100-102; Venezuelan, 84; right of neutral, 129-131; U. S. cruisers protect ships and citizens, 130; U. S., sold to Brazil, 132; U. S., detained by Brazil, 132-134; U. S., in Brazilian ports, 135-136; Brazilian, violate blockade, 137; run blockade, 137; prey on Brazilian commerce, 143; prizes, 143; requested for exploration of Amazon, 147; desired in Span. Amer., 245-246. Names—*Lautaro*, 131; *Marta Isabel*, 131; *Niña* (replica of Columbus's ship), 335; *Perla*, 112; *Pinta* (replica of Columbus's ship), 335; *Potrillo*, 112; *Ruth*, 141; *Santa María* (replica of Columbus's ship), 335; *Spark*, 138-140.
- Shipyards: at Zacatula, 52-53.
- Siete Partidas*: Eng. transl. proposed, 324-325; cited, 32.
- Silk: culture, in Mex., 393; Chinese, compete with peninsular, 396.
- Silva Cruz, Carlos: (director of the Biblioteca Nacional, Chile): "Suggestions, etc.," 481-491.
- Silva Vildósola, Carlos: *Chile and the war*, cited, 193; *Le Chile et la guerre*, notice, 492.
- Silver: China absorbs Peruvian, 402.
- Sinaloa (Mex.): Guzmán in, 65.
- Situado*: in Philippines, 461-464; abolished (1804), 464.
- Slade, William F.: *Federation of Central Amer.*, review, 184-186; cited, 116-117.
- Slaves: insurrection of, in Santo Domingo, (1791), 460.
- Slavetrade: suppressed in Brazil, 124.
- Smith, Justin H.: activity in founding of this REVIEW, 12, 13, 15; notice, 372-373.
- Smuggling: in Manila galleon trade, 389.
- Sociedad Geográfica de Lima*: its officials 447; *Boletín*, 498.

- Societies, Catholic historical: stimulated by periodical, 5.
- Solis. *See* Díaz de Solis.
- Solórzano Pereira, Juan de: *Política indiana*, cited, 37.
- Sonora (Mex.): docs. on, 215.
- Soublette, Gen Carlos (Venezuelan envoy to Spain): replaces Montilla, 73-74; decree by, 83-84.
- South Carolina: importance of historical periodicals in, 4.
- South Sea: colonization along, projected, 45, harbor on, discovered, 52; lands along, in *audiencia* of New Spain, 60-62; Cortés plans exploration of, 63.
- Souza, Ireneo Evangelista de (Visconde de Maria): grant, 147.
- Spain: characterized, 282; not commercial, 466; economic evolution of, backward, 38; compared to other countries, 39; law of, Roman, 460; political factors in, (800-1200), 25; evolution of royal power in, 25-28; feudalism in, 26; power of nobles in, lessened, 26-27; municipalities in, 27; ecclesiastical organization in, 27; judiciary and courts, 28-30; *audiencia* in, 30; constitution of 1812, 76-79; becomes limited monarchy, 250; Napoleon's policy toward, 240; crown of, bequeathed to Isabel II., 72; reason for decline of, 24. Success as a colonizing nation, 24-25; failure of, in colonization, 419; effect of colonization by, 419; colonial policy carefully planned, 24; its institutions adaptable to colonization, 25. Its tenure in America, 24; its contribution to Span. Amer., 24-25, 282, 482; colonial officials of, 29; attitude toward Span. Amer. independence, 70-72, 90, 253-254; makes overtures to Span. Amer., 72; the revolution against, in Amer., 239; siezes Chincha Islands, 88; Montevideo loyal to, 126; defeated in Peru, 128; Chile declares independence of, 240; defeats Venezuela, 243; Venezuela's relations with, 73; treaties betw., and Span. Amer. states, negotiated, 74-91; renounces rights in Mex., 81; Bolívar's attitude toward, 272, 294; celebrates "festival of the race," 477-478. Cortés, 74, 76-80, 86, 91; discussions by legislature of, 76; decrees cited, 80, 81, 86; laws in colonies, cited, 389. Former owner of U. S. territory, 6; relations with U. S., 250, 254, 257, 271; propaganda against U. S. in, 271.
- Spaniards: economic characterization, 24, their conquest, 28; their mutual hostilities in colonization, 48; status, 82; organize revolutionary *juntas*, 240; in Peru, 453-457; Dutch hostile to, 462.
- Spanish flag: in Louisiana, 457-460.
- Squier, E. George (U. S. chargé d'affaires in Central Amer.): letters by, 426-434.
- Statutes at large of U. S.*: cited, 257.
- Stephens, H. Morse: copies Mss., 213; *The Pacific Ocean in History*, cited, 9.
- Stevenson, E. L.: member of organization committee of this REVIEW, 14; lectures on cartography, 101.
- Stewart, Charles W. (Supt. of Naval Records): traces wanderings of ship *Santa Marta*, 335.
- Straight, Major Willard: guarantor of this REVIEW, 16, 22; letter by, 22.
- Strait: early search for, 49, 54.
- Studies in History*, etc.: cited, 240.
- Súarez, Dr. José León: activities, 104-105.
- Subsidy. *See* Situado.
- Sucre (Bolivia): assembly at, 405; social influences in, 422-423.
- Sucre, Antonio José de: national hero, 298.
- Sullana (Indian village): Pizarro at, 454.

- TABASCO:** conquest, 56-57; Cortés in, 55.
- Tacalá (Peru): Span. settlement at, 456.
- Tacubaya: Congress of Panamá removed to, 293.
- Tafur: in Panamá, 453.
- Tampico (Mex.): explorations about, 48.
- Tangará: Pizarro at, 454.
- Tapia, Cristobal de: explorations by, 49, 53.
- Tavares Bastos, A. C. (Brazilian official): influenced by Maury, 156; conducts propaganda on opening of Amazon, 156-162; travels on Amazon, 160; *Cartas do Solitario*, cited, 158-159.
- Taxation: exemption from, 82; scientifically apportioned in Bolivia, 414.
- Tehuantepec (Mex.): conquests about, 52, 54; Cortés uses, as base, 67.
- Temples: ancient Peruvian, 453-454. *See also* Churches.
- Teniente letrado: colonial official, 29.
- Tennessee (state): importance of historical periodicals, in, 4-5.
- Tenochtitlan (Mex.): Aztecs overthrown in, 51. *See also* Mexico (city).
- Tepeaca (prov. in New Spain): Span. settlement in, 52.
- Tepic: garrisoned, 65.
- Term "Latin America," 199-200, 464-467.
- Texas (Mex. prov.): conditions in, described, 163; Wilkinson's advice concerning, 163; his reflections on, 175-180; Eng. relations with, 366.
- Texas State Historical Ass'n: fellows in, 351.
- Thomas, Gen. Philemon: captures Baton Rouge, 458.
- Tiahuanaco: center of ancient Inca culture, 417-418.
- Tierra Firme: defined, 41; extent, 41; colonization of, projected, 41-42; name changed to Castilla del Oro (*q. v.*), 45.
- Tobacco: govt. monopoly in Philippines, 464.
- Todd, Charles S. (U. S. agent in Colombia): letters to, cited, 252.
- Tonalá: Guzmán prohibited from operating in, 66.
- Toreno, Count: heads Span. ministry, 74.
- Torres, Manuel: Colombia envoy to U. S., 251; formally rec'd in U. S., 258-260, 269; first diplomatic agent from Span. Amer. rec'd in U. S., 259-260; letters to and by, cited, 259.
- Torres Lanzas, Pedro (director of A. de I.): aid from, acknowledged, 112; *Relación . . . de Mexico y Florida*, cited, 367.
- Torres y Portugal, Fernando de (viceroy of Peru): petition presented to, 456.
- Towns: few in Span. colonies, 38.
- Tratados y convenciones concluidos y ratificados por la República Mexicana*, cited, 82.
- Treaties: various, negotiated and ratified, 74-75, 79, 81-91, 143, 148, 149, 161, 201, 206, 207, 250, 251, 264, 265, 405, 426, 428, 432.
- Trimble, David (representative from Ken.): speech, cited, 256.
- Tribunals: Span., 33-36 (*see also* Courts).
- Tribute: Cortés receives, 62.
- Triunfo de la Cruz (Span. settlement): founded and abandoned, 55.
- Trousdale,———(U. S. minister to Brazil): Marcy's note to, 155.
- Trujillo (Span. settlement): founded, 55; Cortés at, 56.
- Tucker, Philip C.: notice, 351.
- Tucumán (Argentina): independence resolutions issued from, 245.
- Tudor, William: appointed chargé to Brazil, 143.
- Tumbes (Inca settlement): Pizarro at, 453.

Turner, Frederick Jackson: member of nominating committee of this REVIEW, 15; "Essays in American History," cited, 241, 244.

Tututepac (Indian village): conquests extended to, 52.

Tuxtepeque (Indian district): Sandoval in, 52.

Tuyl, Baron (Russian minister to U. S.): activities, 262-263; letters to, cited, 263.

Tzintzuntzan (Mex.): abandoned, 52: capital of Michoacan, 65.

ULLRICK, Laura F. (joint author with Ethel M. Crampton): "Administration of José Ballivián in Bolivia," 403-414.

United States (of North America): former Span. territory in, 6; attitude toward Span.-Amer. independence, 70, 71, 101, 123, 242, 243, 245, 254, 268, 296; endeavors to reconcile Spain and Span. Amer., 72-73; diplomatic relations with Spain, 250; sends special agents to South America, 244; Span.-Amer. agents sent to, 245; recognizes Span.-Amer. states, 239, 257-265, 267-269; attitude toward Central America, 427; policy of, in recognition, 269; guarantees Peruvian govt., 296; early Hisp. Amer. envoys to, 263, 265; Span.-Amer. compared to, 272, 281, 282, 286; an example to other countries, 280; institutions of, not adaptable to Span. Amer., 282-283; policy enunciated by, 269; Span. Amer. attitude toward, 290; commerce with Span. Amer. ceases, 295; sincere in its relations to Span. Amer., 296. Citizens of, in Chile, 131; Eng. refuses to support, 131; international law in 137; accused of perfidy, 254; Bolívar and, 270-298; Bolívar's attitude toward, and relations with, 271-272, 277-278, 279, 289, 293, 294, 297; takes part in Congress of Panamá, 288-

291. First to recognize Brazilian independence, 124; alliance with Brazil proposed, 124; chargé of, for Brazil proposed, 125; attitude on blockade, 129; influences Brazilian policy, 147; explorations for, in Brazil, 148; Brazilian fears of, 152-153, 156; treaties made by, 428, 432. Improvement in historical scholarship in, 2; can easily support scholarly undertakings, 3.

United States v. Hutchings: cited, 239, 240.

United States v. Palmer: cited, 240.

Universities and Colleges: of Hisp. Amer., 334; Brown, 342-343; California, 6, 9, 100, 101, 104, 197, 198, 203, 209, 332-335, 350, 351; Catholic, of Amer., 5; Colorado, 343, 476; Columbia, 343-345; Goucher, 350; Harvard, 101; Illinois, 9, 345-346; Indiana, 346; Mexico, 104; Michigan, 479; Montevideo, 205; New Mexico, 103; North Carolina, 346-347; Northwestern, 347, 403; Notre Dame, 351; Pennsylvania, 347-348; Smith, 348; Texas, 6, 100-102, 349-350.

Unzaga y Amezaga, Gov. Luis: letters by, 300-306.

Upton, Frederic Archer: guarantor of REVIEW, 16.

Urabá (gulf and district): identified, 42; location and extent, 41-42; colonization, projected, 41-42, 45-46; Ojeda relieved of command in, 44.

Urdanèta, ———: letter to, cited, 295.

Uribe, ———: *Anales diplomáticas*, cited, 89, 264.

Urquiza, Justo José de: Mitre defeats, 87.

Urrutia, F. G.: *El ideal internacional de Bolívar*, cited, 270; *Los Estados Unidos de América*, etc., cited, 182-184.

Urteaga, Dr. Horacio H.: edits series, 116.

- Uruguay: names, 126-127; genesis of, 126; overthrows Span. authority, 126-127; U. S. recognizes, 264; annexed by Brazil, 127; revolts against Brazil, 128; army recruited in, 128; treaty with Spain, 88-89; severs relations with Germany, 207; laws, cited, 207.
- Uruguay, Visconde (member of Brazilian council): activities, 157.
- Usher, Roland T.: member of organization committee of this REVIEW, 14.
- VALDES**, Dionisio (member of Span. Cortes): cited, 78-79.
- Valdivia (colony): failure, 412.
- Valhalla: name of projected German colony, 411.
- Valladares, Paulino: *Movimiento unionista*, notice, 371-372.
- Valladolid (Spain): audiencia in, 34.
- Valparaiso (Chile): Ballivián retires to, 409.
- Vanderbilt, William: activities in Central America, 429.
- Vanderlinden, ———, *L'Expansion coloniale*, cited, 399, 461.
- Van Ness, C. P. (U. S. minister to Spain): activities, 72.
- Van Nivel, ——— (Belgian explorer): head of expedition, 410.
- Vázquez de Ayllon, Lucas: activities, 49.
- Vega, ———: member of Span. council, 36.
- Velasco, José Miguel (Bolivian official) heads revolution, 404-405; becomes president of Bolivia, 405; letter, cited, 391.
- Velázquez, Diego (gov. of Cuba): jurisdiction claimed by, 48; explorations made under, 50-51.
- Venezuela: Amazon drains, 146; relations with Spain, 73; passes first declaration of independence (1811), 241-242; Spain defeats, 243; Span.-Venezuelan treaty, 74-75, 85-86; included in Greater Colombia, 251; separates from Colombia, 263; appoints agent to U. S., 241; recognized by U. S., 264; govt. of, compared to that of U. S., 281, 286; weakened by federal form, 284; appropriation for education, 342; budget (1919), 471; new govt. depts. in, 475; libraries in, 338.
- Vera Cruz (Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz, Mex.): exploration reaches, 48; founded, 51; Cortés in, 55; cargoes sold in, 389.
- Veragua (New Spain): Columbus discovers, 45; location and extent, 41-42; colonization provided for, 41-42; delimitation, 67-69; contest over, settled, 68-69.
- Vergara, Estanislao: Bolívar's statement to, 296-297; authorized to discuss diplomatic questions, 297.
- Vieira, ———, S. J.: in Brazil, 146.
- Villa: defined, 27; royal struggle against, 27-28.
- Villafuerte, ———: founds colony, 52.
- Villamanrique, Marqués de (viceroys of Mex.): letters, cited, 397.
- Villanueva, Carlos A.: *La monarquía en América*, cited, 270, 277, 278.
- Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz: *See* Vera Cruz.
- Villa Rodrigo: mil. colony planned in, 410.
- Virginia (state): importance of historical periodicals in, 4.
- Vitoria Garayana (Spanish colony): location, 49; gov. for, appointed, 57.
- Vivanco, Gen. Manuel Ignacio de (Peruvian official): negotiates treaty 58.
- WALKER**, William (filibuster): activities, 460.
- Wars: civil, between governors of Spanish colonies, 68; for Spanish-American independence, 214; for Uruguayan independence, 126; Brazilian-Argentinian, 126; English-

- French-Argentinian, 408; República Oriental-Paraguay, 409-410; Mexican, 152-153; Great War (1914-19), its effects on scholarship, 3.
- Washington, George: policy initiated by, 243; belittled by modern writers, 274; Bolívar compared to, 274; Petion compared to, 274-275; Bolívar's estimate of, 274-277; his portrait presented to Bolívar, 276-277.
- Webster, Daniel: succeeds Clayton as Sec'y of State, 426; his attitude toward Central America, 432; activities, 265; letters to, cited, 433.
- Wentz, D. B.: guarantor of REVIEW, 16.
- West Florida: colonization base, 48; Spanish in, 458.
- Wheaton, Henry: *Elements of international law*, cited, 155; *Reports of cases*, cited, 240.
- Wheless, Joseph: *Effects of the . . . European War upon . . . Argentina*, etc., cited, 193.
- White, Joseph L.: Activities in Central America, 429-430.
- White, William: letter to, cited, 278.
- Whites: status in Andean countries, 417, 422.
- Wilkinson, Gen. James: in Mexico, 163-164; letters, 163-180.
- Williams, Mary Wilhelmina: notice, 350; book review by, 444-446; "Outline for the . . . study of Latin-American history," 340-341; *Anglo-Saxon Isthmian diplomacy*, cited, 428, 433; "Letters of E. George Squier to John M. Clayton, 1849-1850" (ed.), 426-434.
- Wilson, Bedford: letters to, cited, 282, 283, 297.
- Wilson, President Woodrow: letter, 1; principles promulgated by, 333-334.
- Winsor, Justin: *Narr. and crit. hist.*, cited, 41.
- Winter, Nevin O.: *Florida, the land of enchantment*, reviewed, 329-330.
- Wirt, William: cited, 248, 266.
- Wisconsin: importance of historical periodicals in, 4.
- Wolfe, Nathaniel J.: activities in Central America, 429.
- Wool: fabrics made in South America, 418.
- Wooster, Charles W.: Captain in Chilean navy, 131.
- X**EREZ, Francisco de: *Narrative of the conquest of Peru*, cited, 457.
- Y**OUNG, Dr. Arthur N.: activities, 104.
- Yucatan: concession of, for colonization, 57-58; under jurisdiction of audiencia of New Spain, 60-62; included in Mexico, 81.
- Yzaguirre, Bernardo de (bp. of Panama): consecrates new cathedral, 452.
- Z**ABRISKIE, Luther K.: *The Virgin Islands*, reviewed, 190-191.
- Zacatula (town): foundation and location 52; early importance, 52-53.
- Zamacois, Niceto de: *Historia de Méjico*, cited, 389.
- Zapata,———: member of Span. council, 36.
- Zárate, Rodrigo: *España y América*, notice, 492.
- Zea Bermúdez, Francisco: Everett's relations with, 71.
- Zorita (Zurita), Alonso de: *Historia de la Nueva España*, cited, 393.
- Zozaya, José Manuel: app. minister to U. S., 260; his instructions, 260; formally rec'd by U. S., 261, 269; letter to, cited, 261.
- Zubieta, Pedro A.: *Congresos de Panamá y Tacubaya*, cited, 270-271, 291.

